

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Friday, the 31st May 1946.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at five of the clock, Mr. Chairman (SRI K. NATARAJAN) in the Chair.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the member.]

GOVERNMENT MOTION.

MOTION *RE* FOOD AND CLOTH SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE.

MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN):—"The House will now resume the discussion on the food and cloth situation. The hon. Member Mr. Jagannatham will now speak."

SRI H. M. JAGANNATHAM:—"May I speak even in the absence of the Premier or any other Minister on the Treasury Benches?"

MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN):—"The hon. Member may wait for a minute till the Hon. Premier comes here from the other House which has just now adjourned."

(In the meanwhile the Hon. Premier arrived.)

SRI H. M. JAGANNATHAM:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Government statement on the food position admittedly deserves the close study of Members of all parties in the House. We are all agreed that food must be a matter above party politics and speaking on behalf of the community to which I belong, let me say that my approach to this question is one of friendly co-operation in an all-out effort to secure for us greater imports from abroad and increased production in our land, on the lines suggested by the hon. Member Dr. Rajan. I am in complete accord with the hon. Member Dr. Rajan and I entirely endorse the views expressed by my hon. friend Mr. B. Narayanaswami Nayudu as to the view point of my community as well as others, in relation to food and cloth position.

"Sir, I consider it our duty to strengthen the hands of India's mission which is doing everything possible to press our claims before the Combined Food Board for greater allocation. It is a tragedy that though India has emerged as a victor in this—the greatest of all wars that has just ended, she is worse off than the vanquished in the matter of food and the statesmen of the United States are inclined to consider the claims of Germany, Italy and Japan on an equal or superior footing to that of India. Let me tell them that India is entitled to be treated fairly by the great American Republic, merely on the grounds of our handsome contribution to the war effort.

"There is just one point in the statement of the Hon. Premier to which I wish to draw the attention of the House. He has admitted that this famine has affected the poor people most. In spite of that recognition, we find that under the system of rationing the rich and the poor are all treated alike. I want the Government to take note that the rich and the well-to-do have more substitute foodstuffs such as milk, eggs, fish, meat, fruits, vegetables, etc.

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The diet of the poor and the lower middle classes consists of the barest 12 oz. of the cereals that you give, plus a little tamarind, a pinch of salt and a little chilli powder, which have no food value at all. It is the starvation food that you are giving them, and as has been admitted by food authorities on the subject, adults can just pull through a period of four months, many of the children and the aged will drop by the wayside through increased disease which is always the result of lowered vitality.

“ Let me say a word about the food situation in relation to my community—the scheduled castes community and the labouring population. You are now giving them only 12 oz. of rice or wheat, millets, ragi, or cumbu or all put together 12 oz. This is quite insufficient, because, they are accustomed to take cold rice in the morning, two meals during day and night. They do not have the luxuries, such as iddili, sambar, poori, dosai, cakes, fruits and a multitude of sweets and delicacies. Therefore, I would request the Hon. Prime Minister to classify these scheduled class people and the labourers under ‘ Manual Labourers ’ and give them 16 oz. of cereal ration per adult which the Government have been giving to manual labourers. I would also request the Government to issue full adult ration to every girl and boy above the age of 8 years and half the ration to children between one and a half years and 8 years. In this connexion, Sir, I would like to impress upon the Government the undesirability of giving wheat to the members of my community living in urban areas as they are not accustomed to eat. Further, they do not know how to prepare the same for food. Wheat ration may as well be given to higher and middle class people who can afford to have necessary facilities and the means to make wheat palatable. I therefore request the Government that instead of wheat they will be pleased to give millets, ragi or cumbu. There is already great distress and suffering in the ranks of my community and if the Government do not see their way to do this bit of justice to them you will be faced with a situation of unparalleled suffering, disease and starvation for which you will be held accountable in the bar of destiny.

“ With reference to the district, taluk and village committees to be constituted by the Government for the procurement and distribution of food, I beg leave to submit that these committees particularly the village committees, will not consist of any scheduled caste member to see that the food distributed reaches every member of my community. Even if there be one or two members of the scheduled castes, they will be chosen in such a way as to be toadies of the caste Hindus who will cross the T's and dot the I's.

“ I therefore appeal to the Government that the recognized organizations of the scheduled castes be asked to recommend more than one person to be members of such committees when it may be possible to voice forth the grievances of my community. I would like to bring to the notice of the Government one important fact which has been overlooked even during the previous regime, namely, the Advisers' regime, that the ration shops in the districts and taluks were located in caste Hindu areas where it was found

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difficult for my caste people to have easy access in getting their rations, and they had to wait for a long time. I therefore suggest that the Government would be pleased to have ration distribution centres for the scheduled castes in areas where it has been our privilege to be segregated into Ghettos, where nobody comes except the members of my community. Sir, the Hon. the Premier is considered to be the people's man and I hope he is, and my people are part and a parcel of his, for whom he has got such affection and sympathy and my people should not suffer in the maldistribution of food which is very very important to keep them alive. It is a well known fact that we, members of the scheduled castes, have been underfed from time immemorial. It has been our lot and a very unfortunate lot, to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. Slavery has been the badge of our lives. We have endured suffering in the past and can no longer continue to suffer. I therefore appeal in all humility to the Government to consider our case not generously but with justice and fair play."

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"Mr. President, Sir, as I sat listening to the speeches of the hon. the mover of the amendment and of those who supported him I must confess I was wondering what they were about, what their grievance was against the scheme put forward by the Prime Minister. The amendment says that the scheme put forward by the Prime Minister is impracticable, unworkable and ineffective. May I bring to the notice of this House what the Prime Minister's scheme attempts to do? It is nothing but an extension of the scheme that is already in existence. Hon. Members of this House may have known, Sir, that the constitution of taluk committees was announced some time ago in a communiqué issued by the Advisers' Regime and the same communiqué stated that wherever possible and necessary even village committees would be constituted. Another thing, Sir, is that there have been food councils as well even at the district headquarters. There have been price control committees also. There is a Provincial Food Council as well. And all that the Prime Minister's scheme seeks to do is to give them a democratic basis. At present they consist of all nominated members. I do not blame the Advisers' Regime for making them nominated bodies, because a large section of our countrymen non-co-operated with the administration. All that the Prime Minister now wants to do, Sir, is a democratic constitution having come into operation, to see that these bodies are constituted on a democratic basis. So the village committees are constituted of representatives chosen by the villagers and similarly the taluk committees and the district committees. I do not see how, as my hon. Friend Mr. Farokhi, has suggested, the scheme of the Prime Minister is going to 'disrupt' the present system. On the other hand it only strengthens the present system by placing it on a democratic basis.

"Sir, I have only one word to say about the committee suggested in the last paragraph of the amendment. As I mentioned before, there is a Provincial Food Council which consists of nominated members. I request that the Hon. the Prime Minister may be pleased to make it a body representative of both the Houses of the

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Legislature, either by nomination or by election, or by whatever manner he likes, so that our friend's object may be achieved by constituting a Provincial Food Council on a democratic basis. I repeat, Sir, this amendment is unnecessary, as all that the Prime Minister's proposals seek to do is to strengthen the present system by placing it on a democratic basis.

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"Then, Sir, some of the Members naturally pointed out some anomalies existing in the present system of administration of both food and cloth. I feel, Sir, they are inevitable as long as ours forms part of all-India schemes. By these all-India schemes sometimes we lose; sometimes we gain our point of view. I find we have lost heavily in regard to food. While we recognize the existence of anomalies, still we feel it is desirable that any scheme with regard to the distribution of foodgrains or cloth should be on an all-India basis, as the whole country suffers from famine, perhaps we do so more. I would like that the present Government should take steps to minimize these anomalies and see that proper justice is done to our province. Being far off from New Delhi, often this province suffers. We cannot easily catch the ear of the Government of India, much less their eye, so that our representation, unless backed up by strong public opinion, has every chance of its being not heeded at all. I would suggest that the Hon. the Prime Minister should take up and examine these anomalies pointed out in this House and elsewhere and see how far they could be rectified and justice done to our province. I am sure that the present Government will recognize that the food administration of this province under the able leadership and guidance of Sir S. V. Ramamurthy has done a great deal of good and still we find that these anomalies have crept in. He cannot be blamed nor his co-workers can be blamed; but they are there. They seem to be even now inevitable.

"There has been a great deal of talk of corruption in food and cloth administration. So long as human nature is what it is, whatever may be the regulations we frame, however drastic the steps we take may be, corruption cannot altogether be put down, unless the social conscience of the community is quickened sufficiently that though there may be people to receive bribes, there should not be people to give bribes; perhaps that day is far off. However I may state here that this province stands foremost in integrity of administration compared with other provinces. Those who had occasion to visit other provinces and have watched the execution of the various control orders will bear testimony to the fact and I have the opinion of a very high placed non-official gentleman in my favour, that this province has done very well in spite of a few cases of corruption that do exist.

"I would just deal with some of the points raised in the memorandum of the Hon. the Prime Minister. Let me first of all take procurement. The previous Government have issued a set of instructions though it has notified that it is for official use only—have directed they should be observed by their officers in the conduct of procurement operations. On paper they look very well and I dare say under the guidance of a popular Government, they will also work very well in practice. There are certain provisions to which

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I would like to draw the attention of the Hon. the Prime Minister. First of all, the allowances given to producers and field workers are not adequate if we remember that the producers have to produce more. Although we have been talking all these days here in this House and elsewhere that production must be stepped up, how is it possible unless the producer is well fed, let alone his being not well-clothed? One pound has hardly enough calorific value and is not sufficient to keep him in good health. I would suggest that in the case of producers and field workers, the allowances should be adequately raised. It should be raised to enable them not only to keep good health but also to prevent physical deterioration and dis-spiritedness. These are the words used in the introduction to the Famine Code. Unless we enable these producers to keep themselves in good health and prevent their physical deterioration and dis-spiritedness, there is no hope of our successfully carrying out any scheme for more production in this province.

“ There is another thing which I brought to the notice of the previous Government ; to me reply came after three months, though action was taken early. In certain parts of the presidency millet is the staple food and rations are calculated—even allowances to producers—in terms of millets. Those of us who know something of the use to which millets are put, know how much wastage takes place before the millets are fit for consumption even before being put into water. That is why in the Famine Code, the words used are ‘ cleaned for consumption.’ Certain allowances are made in calculating the various items of food prescribed in the Famine Code. I brought this to the notice of the previous Government ; for some reason they took two to three months to arrive at conclusions and give directions. I am not sure how far these directions are being given effect to, because they do involve some calculations ; I do not know whether these calculations have been correctly made and whether the producers are able to get at least one pound of millet fit for consumption. I would like the Hon. the Prime Minister to look into this matter. Especially in millet-eating areas, it is a very serious problem.

“ Coming to the question of wholesalers, I am very glad that they are to go ; but they seem to be coming back in another garb called collection agents. After all, when the Collector is asked to select, he will select wholesalers and they will be nominated ; in some garb or another they want to come in. The system of having wholesalers is wrong ; wherever they existed, things are bad ; wherever they did not exist, things are better. Before the introduction of the rationing system in Madras, the Advisers’ regime did away with wholesalers much against the wishes of prominent wholesalers to continue the system. Even now Chambers of Commerce are passing resolutions day in and day out that the wholesale system should be reintroduced. All the difficulties that are experienced elsewhere are due to the existence of the wholesale system. In Madras these difficulties do not exist because the wholesale system does not exist. I would like that this collection agent’s system also should not be brought into effect. What I would suggest is, if a villager has a surplus to surrender, let him surrender

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it to any Government agent. All that he has to do is to surrender the surplus to the Government agent who gives a kind of receipt which, when presented at the treasury, enables him to cash it like a cheque and get his money. This system was tried in the Mysore State by Mr. M. A. Srinivasan. The villagers were asked to surrender all their surpluses to the Government agents—I do not mind who the Government agent is, either the Revenue Inspector or the village officer. As in the case of assessment the villager is given a receipt, which he produces at the treasury and obtains his money. The Government fixes the price at which surplus grain should be purchased. That will be a better system and that will also enable the villager to retain what he needs and to give the surplus to the other villagers. Another thing I would suggest is that a certain day should be fixed before which if surplus grain is surrendered, the villager would receive a higher rate. It will be an incentive to those who hold surplus grain to surrender it and benefit by getting the higher price. If, in spite of this offer of higher price, the surplus grain is not surrendered, the villagers will not only subject themselves to coercive methods but the prices they should receive will be less. That system may be of great help especially in deficit areas in getting grain that may remain hoarded. I would suggest this to be adopted.

“ Besides these wholesale dealers, in some places we have got what are called syndicates which have come into existence during the war-time, mostly consisting of merchants. Even though there is a co-operative society or store working in the locality, it is unable to receive direct the grain required. What I would suggest is the Government should ask the wholesale co-operative stores to open branches and supply grains. The existence of syndicates is a big scandal. I have brought this fact to the notice of the Collector personally and by letters; the syndicates are still existing. Their existence means that the profits would go to them instead of to a co-operative institution where it is shared by all.

“ I come to the system of rationing. Our Government have formulated a system called informal rationing. The Government's formal rationing is governed by statutes and by rules framed under them. The officials are against making informal rationing formal rationing though informal rationing also is subject to the same rules. Why I want formal rationing is that, when the ration card is obtained by a ration card-holder, it is like a cheque. If I obtain a ration card to-day in the City of Madras, I go to the ration shop in which I register my name, and I am bound to get my ration. If a cheque is not honoured in a bank, the bank will be considered to be a bankrupt; in the same manner the Government dare not allow a ration card-holder to go without ration. That is why, Sir, they take a lot of trouble to see that stocks are maintained at places where statutory rationing continues; but in the villages with informal rationing, a card is taken to the shop to which it is assigned. If there is no grain, the man has to come back. We cannot hold anyone responsible, and sometimes, when the cry goes to the Collector or the rationing officer, after some days the grain is rushed to the place. Having studied both the systems, both in

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theory and in practice, I would suggest that formal rationing should be introduced in all places. In that case, whatever may be the ration fixed, the ration card-holder will be entitled to receive that ration. I have pleaded for this often, but somehow, the Civil Supplies department thinks there is no distinction between formal and informal rationing. Only a lawyer can convince them perhaps, not a layman like me.

" Then, Sir, though it does not directly relate to the subject under discussion, I would like to say that in the districts of Bellary and Anantapur, the Government have started a large number of works to provide employment owing to the seasonal conditions prevailing there. These workers are expected to do a certain amount of work before they become entitled to the wages fixed—a kind of piece-work system. The amount of work they are expected to do is governed by certain rules and regulations. But even they get only this 1 lb. of millet, without allowances for cleaning the grain to make it fit for consumption. The Famine Code framed after a great deal of experience has put down that 55 tolas of cereals besides other items are necessary for a famine worker. I would like that these 55 tolas of cereals should be given to these people who come on the famine works. I have no objection to the Government extracting the amount of work laid down in the Code; but they should be fed well. Otherwise, as I said, physical deterioration and dissipatedness will creep in.

" Then, Sir, I come to the increase of food production. I am not very much enamoured of the various measures suggested for increasing food production. (At this stage the Chairman sounded the gong.) As I am speaking both on the amendment and on the original motion, Sir, I hope you would be indulgent. If we had discussed them separately, I would have got ten more minutes separately; you will please give me some more time.

" Sir, the measures adopted now are not sufficiently attractive. I would take only one or two points. In order to discourage, as suggested by Dr. Tajuddin yesterday, even the growth of short staple cotton, the Government of Madras, at the instance of the Government of India and perhaps of the Central Cotton Committee, suggested measures to discourage the growing of cotton in the Ceded districts. But what is the amount of compensation paid? At first it was Rs. 2 per acre and after a great deal of agitation, it was raised to Rs. 4. And this Rs. 4 or Rs. 2 is not paid in time at all. A ryot, as you know, appreciates better if anything is given to him in time, when he is in need. This expeditious distribution of compensation for not growing cotton on land where they used to grow cotton and also with compensation on a higher scale, if given, I am sure the ryots will gladly take to growing food crops instead of cotton.

" Another method I have found out in the distribution of this compensation in some of the districts; in my district they are given in the shape of national savings certificates. Government have remitted assessment for bad seasonal conditions. The ryot has nothing to pay and much less to save. He is prevented from

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growing cotton but at the same time what he is to get as compensation is not given in cash but only given in the shape of savings certificates which are to be cashed at a later date when there is no need for him for money. I would like, Sir, that the Government should issue orders immediately for these cash bonuses to be given in cash only and the ryots should not be compelled—or induced I would say—to take them in the shape of certificates.

“ Then, Sir, with regard to the sinking of wells. The sinking of wells, which was announced with great gusto by the Adviser Government did not take into account the actual conditions prevailing in the villages. They decided one day that wells should be sunk. What is surprising is that they did not take into account the experience of the Government in the previous year in my district, the Ceded districts. The Government of India gave a special grant for the sinking of wells in the Ceded districts alone and the progress made was simply ridiculous, because the terms offered were least attractive. And in spite of the experience they had gained, the same mistakes were committed in the new accelerated scheme of sinking of wells that was adumbrated some time ago. The subsidies given are not attractive at all and they do not take into account the soils in which the wells have to be sunk. The cost of wells in the same village and in different places is different. In this connexion, Sir, I was recently reading a memorandum submitted by Diwan Bahadur Srinivasaraghava Ayyangar to the Irrigation Commission long ago. In that memorandum, Mr. Ayyangar envisaged these difficulties. While pleading that liberal grants should be given to the ryots to sink wells, taking particularly the tract, our tract, he suggested the maximum should be from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000; otherwise, no well can be sunk, especially in the black cotton soil. Sir, there were also other concessions which were suggested by him and which I think still hold good to-day—they are grant of interest-free loans to the ryot, and secondly that the subsidy should be half to two-thirds of the cost. The Government simply fix Rs. 300, Rs. 310 or Rs. 320; on what basis that figure was arrived at, nobody knows. Then there are certain areas where the ryots have not enough security to give to get even these interest-free loans. I suggest, therefore, that the Government should themselves sink wells and charge a water-rate where the ryots are poor and are not able to offer security. (The Chairman at this stage sounded the gong.) I think, Sir, you must allow me some more time. I would not have asked for this indulgence if you had given me an opportunity yesterday.

“ Then, Sir, there are a large number of abandoned wells, and the ryot is not interested in repairing them on account of the cost, on account of the doubtful benefit which he may derive. It has been suggested that those wells may be taken over by the Government and repaired at their cost and a water-rate may be charged for the water supplied.

“ Again, these ryots have to do some trial borings. Otherwise they often land themselves in difficulties. It is true if a well

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is a failure, the amount received for it either by way of subsidy or loan may be written off by the tahsildar; but it would save much worry to the ryot as well as to the Government if Government could undertake trial borings at their own cost and enable the ryot to proceed with the sinking of wells after the trial borings give favourable results.

"As regards the staff employed for the distribution of these loans, it is not adequate at all. I suggest more staff should be employed before this scheme can become effective.

"I do not want to say anything more on the other items but I would like to mention only one. I beg of the Hon. Ministers sitting on the Treasury Bench to read very carefully the two volumes of the Indian Famine Commission Report and also a recently published report of the Indian Statistical Institute on the Survey of Villages in Bengal after the famine. They give a fund of information which gives us guidance to avoid the deleterious effects of famine which were noticed in Bengal. The more we study and learn about the conditions of Bengal at present, the more we dread the consequences of famine in South India.* I would like to say it is better to keep a watch, a vigilant watch, to see the effects of various measures the Government are now taking, especially in regard to food. The rice ration has been reduced from 1 lb. to 12 oz. It may be that to-morrow it may have to be reduced to 10 oz. altogether including wheat. What effect it will have on the various classes of the population is a matter of deep concern to everybody. It may not affect the town dwellers but it may have a serious effect on the rural population, especially the producers for whom I have pleaded already.

"Then, Sir, I come to the cloth question. It has been suggested . . . (The Chairman at this stage again sounded the gong.) I shall speak only a few sentences more. It has been suggested that the price of handloom cloth should be controlled. It is easy to make a suggestion. This has been in the air for the past six to eight months, but those who believe in the handloom industry have always resisted. The reason given now in the note is that they want to check profiteering by the middlemen; by all means eliminate the middlemen. Let the weaver weave and give it to the Government, to the village officer or let him hand it over to anybody who may be appointed. You pay him merely the cost of production; but you want to retain a large number of wholesalers, sub-wholesalers, retailers and sub-retailers. So long as they are all retained, a check on the price of the handloom cloth is neither a benefit to the producer nor to the consumer. As regards the price of handloom cloth; it is no doubt higher to-day than before. The Provincial Textile Controller has himself referred to the various causes. He has confessed that the supply to the handloom weaver of yarn is not sufficient for more than ten to twelve days. If you control the price of handloom cloth and the cost of production and if you are not in a position to supply the yarn required by him for thirty days in the month, what is he to do for twenty days? Is he to starve? I ask, Sir, that no

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control of price of handloom cloth should be undertaken without Government first satisfying themselves that they can afford to supply yarn for thirty days' work to every weaver. If they cannot do it, let them not venture on this proposal; because with that which the producer earns—I am not concerned, as I said, with the middlemen—he is able to maintain himself for the remaining days when he is forced to be idle. What steps are you going to take for this purpose? Here, I would suggest the steps which some hon. Members suggested in the assembly, namely, that the Government of Madras should take charge of the mills."

MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN):—"It is already time. I would like the hon. Member to co-operate with the Chair in giving opportunities to all other members."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"I will finish in a minute, Sir. That is one point. I am sure I need not expostulate on that, because the Hon. the Prime Minister will understand how easy it is to fit in a measure, either by controlling the mills or by taking the mills under your charge, or you may do anything you like, to see that the yarn supplied to the weaver is regular and that he gets it for all the days of the month. Price control has been introduced for mill cloth and I am sure then it can be applied to handloom cloth also.

"Sir, yesterday my hon. friend Mr. Theobald spoke of the eight hours' work and lamented that the introduction of the eight-hour work will affect production. This is always the bogey raised by the votaries of the capitalist economy. If eight-hour work is introduced, let them have three shifts. Why not have it? It is conceded on all hands that by eight-hour work the worker will be more efficient and production would be better. Therefore, if three shifts are introduced, I think production will be much more than what it is now. After all, what is wanted is, production should not suffer. To put forward any objection against reform on the score that production would suffer, it is not fair to the workers. I am sorry this is not also the place for putting forward that objection. Anyhow, Sir, it has become an enactment and it should be enforced and the only way by which the producers of yarn and the mill-owners can help is to have three shifts. We should take steps to produce more yarn and cloth instead of trying to find fault with a reform which is long overdue. I do not wish to take up more of the time of the House, Sir."

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON:—"Sir, I wish to express my thankfulness and gratefulness on behalf of the people of Malabar for the announcement made by the Hon. the Prime Minister yesterday in the Assembly Chamber regarding the rice ration in Malabar. Curiously enough, when all other parts of the Presidency were getting 12 oz. for the last so many months, Malabar was only getting 10 oz. and now that it has been reduced from 12 to 10 oz. and 2 oz. of wheat—and the reduction in Malabar is out of the 10 oz.—I have been getting telegrams even before the Prime Minister referred to the matter that there should be equality of treatment. When the Hon. the Revenue Minister was in

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Calicut and Cannanore, appeals were made to him that at least in the matter of ration equality may be shown to Malabar, if not something more because of the heavy toll of death from which it suffered owing to famine.

"Now, Sir, thanks to the Government, yesterday the Prime Minister announced that this reduction in rice will not affect Malabar and that along with the other parts of the Presidency the people of Malabar also will get the same quantity of rice. (The Hon. Sri K. R. Karanth:—'You will get .2 oz. more.' I am thankful to the Hon. the Revenue Minister. He says we will get .2 oz. more and I may be permitted to say, Sir, this is but a very poor compensation for those who had suffered till now from famine.

"Sir, I do not know how far it is practical, because it is only those who have worked it will understand the practicability of things. If Mr. Narayanaswami Nayudu's suggestion of confining wheat to urban areas only is adopted, it will be a great boon to the villager who is hardly accustomed to wheat ration.

"Another point which I would like to bring before the notice of the Government regarding Malabar is about the rationing of bread. There are about 150 bakeries in Calicut which is one of the important places in Malabar, which are practically idle to-day. Those bakeries were making not merely bread, but also biscuits. Now biscuit-making has been prohibited and the result is biscuits from all other parts of the country are coming to Malabar while our biscuit industry has been completely lost and about 150 bakeries are practically remaining idle on account of the rationing of bread. Bread, after all is not used very much in Malabar and so rationing of bread is not of much use there, except that it has deprived biscuit-making.

"Sir, there is another thing I want to appeal to the Government. I do not want to speak more, but since I was provoked by the remarks made about the control of handloom cloth, I wish to say something. I am not an expert like Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao who with his expert knowledge suggested that it is dangerous. In Malabar there are a number of mills, and handloom mills where large quantities of furnishing fabrics are manufactured and sold at such prohibitive costs that people have made tons of money in them. I am not, of course envious of people making such money, but what I am concerned is that it is not furnishing fabrics that are required at the moment, but the cloth we are wearing that has to be made and if you can ask them to make the cloth that is required for wearing—whether it can be done by control or otherwise, it will be a great boon to the people of Malabar. As a matter of fact, the bathing towels we were using in Malabar and which we call 'thorth', are not available there at present. The reason is, the weaver who gets the yarn, does not weave it at all, but sells it to the owners of handlooms or to the mill-owners for a very much higher price. So he gets more money by selling the yarn he gets than weaving it himself. So, Sir, some sort of control is required not merely in regard to the sale

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of yarn but in the matter of following the yarn, which will give great relief.

"Sir, I do not want to say much in regard to khadi, because it has already been dealt with by Dr. Rajan, and from my own experience I can say that the present difficulty can be avoided if only my friends will take to spinning yarn at least for about half-an-hour per day. I say this from my own personal experience.

"I want to refer to some of the remarks made by some of the hon. members of the Muslim League. On the one hand they say they would support all Government proposals and at the same time warn the Government about the dangerous consequences of rejecting their amendments. They say that the present system is unworkable and at the same time they want the major political parties to be included in the committees that have been formed for working the scheme. I cannot understand the significance of both. My hon. Friend Mr. Farookhi was saying (Inter-ruption: 'He mentioned about the Adviser Government and not about the present Government.') Sir, Farookhi Sahib's speech gave the impression that the Prime Minister would be rid of this work if he substitutes the Board for the Government. I do not know how far people would like that Government should be substituted by a board for all the work they have to do. Sir, I found a very safe corner on the part of the Muslim League for the wholesalers. I cannot understand it. I felt a bit suspicious particularly when Mr. Farookhi Sahib mentioned about hides and skins. He said they were underground, practically meaning there were black-marketeers because there is not prosecution in regard to black-marketeers at all in regard to hides and skins. He cited the example of hides and skins by saying that when the Government ordered a bonus of 2 annas up to Rs. 500 and 7 annas up to Rs. 5,000 all the underground skins came out. What is this black-market? You cannot get at the tax-payer by a bonus from the Government. When they are in need, they exhibit their warmth or soft corner for the wholesaler. That is not a good sign. It is highly suspicious to say so. On the other hand the wholesalers get a large profit without doing any work and without investing any money. If they get a quota, any bank allows overdraft if required.

"One word more before I finish, Sir. My hon. Friend, Mr. Jagannatham appealed to the Prime Minister, regarding the selection of committee members and that proper scheduled caste members should be selected and if members are selected as it is now proposed to do, such members who are toadies of caste Hindus alone will be selected. Sir, it is certainly a scandal and not in good taste to say so. May I ask whether he would prefer the toadies of the British Government or the toadies of the caste Hindus and toadies of the officials who have no interest in the country. So, Sir, such statements are not at all creditable for anybody and to say that people who are to be selected will be toadies of caste Hindus is nothing short of a scandal. I have nothing more to say."

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SRI P. VEERABHADRASWAMI :—“ Mr. President, Sir, I have great pleasure in co-operating with the Government in the proposals they have brought forward. I come from the Vizagapatam district which is a deficit district and where land is dry. Therefore, we have to depend for our food-stuffs on imports from other districts. Sir, the Agency tracts which were formerly included in the district have now been removed and added to the Orissa province. Otherwise there would be no difficulty in regard to paddy as we are suffering today. But for the removal of the agency tracts, we could manage without imports from other districts large quantities of food-stuffs. Therefore, I submit, Government must come forward with a good deal of help to relieve us at the present moment. Sir, the cultivators in my district are more hard-working people than the cultivators in the other districts. Only, they must be given sufficient manure and sufficient water. Also a large quantity of groundnut oil and cake go away through various means from the district. I request the Government to take over the whole stock and instead of 50 per cent that they are now getting it will be a great boon if it is sold to the people of the district at a low price. If they should be exported to other districts, it should be under control.

“ Sir, in the matter of giving subsidy for the sinking of wells, it is no doubt a move in the right direction, but the amount that is sanctioned, viz., Rs. 300 per well, is not at all sufficient and in the case of the small land-owners, I think the whole cost should be met by the Government. As it is, a lot of water is being used 6 p.m. for the cultivation of tobacco and I believe it might as well be used for raising food grains as tobacco is a luxury crop. The northern part of my district of Vizagapatam has been in the grip of a famine for the last four or five years and instead of the Government spending money on stone breaking, I would suggest that cottage industries are started and created for the poor people thrown out of work. I know that Government are at present incurring some loss in the sale of foodgrains. I suggest that a portion of the loss may be borne by the well-to-do. Say families having an income of Rs. 2,000 or more per annum might pay one and a half times the present price of foodgrains while others might pay three-quarters or two-thirds of the present rate. I suggest this for the consideration of the Government and if they find it useful, they might adopt it.

“ There is plenty of man-power in the country and the villagers have ample leisure and given sufficient encouragement and facilities, I think they would take to hand-spinning. Government may inspect the ration shops both in towns and villages and introduce a system whereby hand-spun yarn may be taken in exchange for foodgrains, sugar and kerosene and the yarn thus got may be sold to the All-India Spinner's Association. The All-India Spinner's Association are paying liberal prices for hand-spun yarn and Government for their part may make liberal grants to the All-India Spinner's Association to produce more cloth by employing more spinners and weavers to make cheap cloth. They may also consider the question of paying an anna or two by way

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of subsidy for every square yard of cloth produced by the All-India Spinner's Association. If it is not possible to instal spinning or weaving mills in a short time by the importation of the machinery required, hand-spun and woven cloth may be prepared in a very short time provided all the facilities are given. For the first time in the history of the province—nay in the history of the country—people are being associated in the various beneficial measures that the Government are going to introduce to relieve the situation and I feel it is our duty to accord approval to the proposals of the Government and to tender our co-operation to the best of our ability to see that necessary efforts are made to ease the present situation. I am sure the results will be very encouraging and will greatly benefit the people. I heartily support the proposals of the Government and expect that they will be approved in toto."

K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Mr. Chairman, just as we entered the House certain draft proposals were placed in the hands of the members concerning the question of cloth. May I ask the Hon. the Premier on a point of information whether opportunities will be given for hon. Members to discuss the proposals and to express their opinion on them? "

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" They are not altogether new measures or proposals. They are similar to the measures placed in the hands of hon. Members on the food question already. Therefore, hon. Members may deal with the question straightaway without asking for more time till tomorrow. If time is wanted and if it is the general opinion of the House that they should sit to-morrow, I have no objection."

K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" But the question is that so many of us have already spoken on the subject and my doubt is whether further opportunities will be given to hon. Members to express their opinion on the new proposals."

* MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN) :—" Provided they only touch upon points raised in the note now in the hands of hon. Members. It will be for hon. Members also to see whether they have not already anticipated all the points in their previous discussions."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" These proposals have already been referred to in the printed memorandum circulated to hon. Members already. There was a comment yesterday asking ' they have a scheme; why do not they disclose the whole of the scheme? ' It is only to explain that that this thing has been placed in the hands of hon. Members."

ABDUL LATEEF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I have not gone through this memorandum and have not seen a word of what it contains. I ask the Hon. Premier why, if these are not new proposals, they should be placed before the House. What is the necessity at all for placing them before the House if they are not new proposals? It clearly shows that there is something new. Even if there is the slightest deviation from the

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proposals submitted to the House day before yesterday or yesterday, I say, Sir, it is the right of every hon. Member to have an opportunity to study them, formulate his views and express them on the floor of the House. I submit that some time at least must be given to hon. Members to read the note so that they may be able to express an opinion on it."

* MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN):—"My feeling is that the debate might go on. After the debate is over and the Hon. the Premier has replied if any hon. Member wants to make a submission strictly with reference to the memorandum now before the House, he may have the opportunity to-day if time permits; but should it necessitate an adjournment of the House till to-morrow, we cannot prevent it."

ABDUL LATEEF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Are we not then to read this, Sir?"

* MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN):—"I have solved the difficulty in a way. If hon. Members think after the debate is over and the Hon. the Premier has replied, that they want to make additional observations strictly with reference to the memorandum before the House, that opportunity will be given to-day and if necessary further adjournment will be given till to-morrow."

ABDUL LATEEF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"The Hon. the Premier has taken so much time to formulate his proposals and it is but proper that members should have some time to give their thought to this Memorandum."

* MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN):—"I am far from preventing any time being given to hon. Members for the consideration of the memorandum; my idea has been to avoid adjournment of this debate if possible. If an adjournment is rendered necessary we will sit to-morrow also, if the gentlemen who want to speak particularly on these proposals do not find time to exhaust their remarks before we rise to-day."

* SRI A. GOVINDACHARYULU:—"అదృష్టం, సోదర సభ్యులారా! ఈ ఆహార సమస్య, బట్టల సమస్య రెండున్నూ మన హిందూ దేశానికి కొత్త కాదు. వినాడు ఆంగ్ల ప్రభుత్వం భారత దేశంలో కాలిఫెర్నియాలో ఆనాటినుంచి ఈ ట్రామదేవత హిందూ దేశములో తాండవింపడం ప్రారంభించింది. అందుచేత 40 కోట్ల ప్రజలు మన దేశములో ఎప్పుడూ అన్నం, దానం, రామచంద్రా అంటూ అల్లాడవలసి వస్తుంది. ఇతర దేశములలో మధ్యతరగతి ప్రజలకు కూడా ఈ ట్రామదేవత అవహించింది. కనుకనే మన ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టి ఈ ఆహార సమస్యపై మరలినది. అయితే దానిని ఎట్లు ఎదుర్కొనవలెనో అనే సమస్య హిందూ దేశం మొత్తంమీద ఉన్న ఆర్థిక కష్టస్థితివల్లను అందోళన పరచుచున్నది. దీనికి కారణము మన ప్రభుత్వంవారు కాదు. గత ప్రభుత్వంవారు చేసిన పని వీరియందు. Rationing అని చెప్పి ఆహారాన్ని విభజించి అందరికీ పంచి పెట్టడం అని పేర్కొన్నారు. ఈ పద్ధతి ఆంగ్ల దేశాలలో ఉత్పత్తి లేక ఆహార పదార్థములను దిగుమతి చేసుకొనే దేశాలలో ఉంది. ఆహారములను దిగుమతుల ద్వారా సేకరించి పౌరులకు వివిధముగా సమానముగా పంచిపెట్టడం అనే సమస్య వారికి వచ్చింది కాని మనకు ఆహారోత్పత్తి ఉన్న దేశాలలో ఈ రేషనింగు పద్ధతి సరికాదని నా మనవి. అందు

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P.m.

[Sri A. Govindacharyulu]

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చేత దాని ప్రారంభదశలోను, మధ్యదశలోను ప్రజలకు సౌఖ్యదాయకముగా ఉండడానికి బదులు చాలా దుర్భరమైన పరిస్థితులను ఈ రేషనింగు తెచ్చిపెట్టింది. ఈ బిటిషు ప్రభుత్వం మనదేశంవిడిచిపెట్టి పోతుంది కాబట్టి ఇప్పటికైనా గతజల సేతు బంధంతో నిమిత్తములేకుండా ప్రస్తుత కర్తవ్యానికి వద్దాము. వెల్లిపోతూ వెల్లిపోతూ ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇంకొక దురదృష్టమైన సంగతిని తెచ్చిపెట్టారు. దుర్భరమైన లంచగొండి తనాన్ని తెచ్చిపెట్టారు. ఈ ఆహార సమస్య వస్త్రసమస్యతోపాటు ఈ లంచ గొండి తనాన్ని కూడా మన కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం ఎదుర్కొనవలెను. నేను నా అభిప్రాయములను విస్తృతముగా స్వతంత్రంగా మనవిచేసుకొనేందుకు ఇక్కడ ఆవకాశము మన నాయకులైన ప్రధానా మాత్యులు కల్పించినారు. ఎవరి అభిప్రాయములు వారు స్పష్టముగా తెలియచేయటానికి ఆవకాశము కల్పించేరు కాబట్టి నా అభిప్రాయములను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“మొట్టమొదట విషయము ఈ ఆహార సమస్య పరిష్కరించడానికి ఈ లంచగొండి తనాన్ని ఎదుర్కొంటేనేగాని వీలు లేదు. లంచాలు ఇచ్చేవారు మనలో ఉండగా లంచగొండితనముపోవాలి అంటే లాభములేదని కొందరు ఆనవచ్చును. Fundamental principles of service ప్రభుత్వ ఉద్యోగస్థులను లంచ గొండితనానికి లోబడకుండా ఉంచడం ప్రజలందరుకూడా దేశానికి అయితే ప్రపంచంలో ప్రభుత్వం స్థాపించ అవసరమే లేదు. ప్రజలను పరిపాలించవలసిన శాసనములుగాని ప్రభుత్వ యంత్రములుగాని అవసరంలేదు. ప్రజలు పశు ప్రవృత్తిలో యున్నారు. అటువంటి ప్రజలను విద్యావంతులు అయినవారు ప్రాతినిధ్యము వహించి పరిపాలించేందుకు మాత్రము ఈ ప్రభుత్వములు ఏర్పడినవి. అందుచేత లంచగొండితనాన్ని నిర్మూలించే బాధ్యత ప్రభుత్వందే గాని ప్రజలదికాదు. ప్రజలు యివ్వకపోతే ఉద్యోగస్థులు విమిచేస్తారని ఆనవచ్చును. ఇది గుర్రము ముందు బండిపెట్టినట్లు అగును. ఈ యుద్ధకాలంలో ప్రతి Department కూడా ప్రతి శాఖకూడా యుద్ధనిధి వసూల్యుచేసేందుకు emergentey ordinance లను ఒక చేతిలో పెట్టుకొని ఇంకొక చేతిలో యుద్ధనిధి వసూళ్ళను చేసినది. నేను నా కంటితో చూసేను. దురదృష్టవసాత్తుకాసీయండి అద్రుష్టవశాత్తుకాసీయండి నేను జబ్బుగావున్నందున ఈసారి ప్రభుత్వంవారు నన్ను వదిలిపెట్టారు. అందుచేత నా స్నేహితులందరు, మంత్రి వర్గములో ఉన్నవారు, శాసనసభ్యులుకూడా యుద్ధకాలంలో ప్రభుత్వవర్గం ఏ విధముగా పనిచేసింది తెలుసుకోలేదు. గాని నేను కని విని ఎరిగియున్నాను. కరణం, రెవిన్యూ ఇన్ స్పెక్టరు, తహశీల్దారు, హుజూరు సీరస్దాదారు, కలెక్టరుగారు, గుడ్డల డిపార్టుమెంటు Commercial Tax Officer లు, డబ్బు అడిగేరు. D.E.O. డబ్బు అడిగాడు. ఆనుపత్రికి వెళ్లితే అక్కడా డబ్బు అడిగేరు. రిజిస్ట్రారు ఆఫీసుకు వెళ్లితే అక్కడా డబ్బు అడిగేరు. పశువుల ఆనుపత్రికి వెళ్లితే అక్కడా అడిగేడు డబ్బు. ఎంతమందికి ఈ రైతు ఇచ్చేడు. అధికారులు ఈ రైతులను ఎంత బాధపెట్టారో అంతులేదు. రైతులను (Tease)చేయడం కాదు (squaede) చేసినారుకూడాను. ఈ విధముగా ప్రతి డిపార్టుమెంటుకూడా తయారు అయింది. ఎందుచేతను? ఇవి నిజముగా విచారకరమైన పరిస్థితులు.

“ఇవాళ మన ప్రధానామాత్యులు ప్రవేశపెట్టిన ప్రణాళికలో రెండు భాగములు ఉన్నవి. అందులో మొదటిది గత ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ డ్రావమును ఎదుర్కొనుటకు చేసిన పనులు, రెండవది ప్రస్తుత కర్తవ్యముగురించి. ఈ మొదటి చరిత్ర (Sundried Bureaucrats) తయారుచేసేయిచ్చిన రెక్కలు !Setting ఆ విధముగా ఉంది అంటే ప్రభుత్వం ఈ ఆహార సమస్య విషయంలో ఎక్కువగా కృషి చేయ్యలేదు, ఈ రెక్కలను మార్పించాలి. ఆర్థికశాస్త్రము తెలిసినవాడను కాబట్టి దీనిలోయన్న తమాషా తెలియచేస్తున్నాను. రాష్ట్రములోనున్న ఆహారమును సంస్థానాలకు ఇతర రాష్ట్ర)

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ములకు ఎగుమతి అయిన అంకెలే కనిపిస్తున్నాయి. అందులో ఒక వాక్యము ఉంది. Procurement Department వారిని అందరినీ ప్రజలకు ఆహారము అందడానికి ఎచ్చాటు చేసినారు అని ఉంది. నిజముగా ఆసత్యము. గుండెపీడ చెయ్యివేసుకొని ప్రజలకు ఆహారము పంపడానికే అని చెప్పగలరా? సైన్యమునకు ఆహారము సరఫరాచెయ్యడానికి ఈ డిపార్టుమెంటు తయారు అయినట్లు నేను రుజువు చేస్తున్నాను. ఇతర రాష్ట్రాలకు, సంస్థానాలకు కావలసిన ఆహార పదార్థములు అందులో ఎన్ని బిన్నుల ఆహార పదార్థములు సైన్యమునకు వినియోగింపబడినవో అంకెలు లేవు. ఇతర రాష్ట్రాలకు ఎంత వెల్లిండ్ అంకెలుకూడా లేవు. అసలు మన వ్యవసాయం అంకెలు గురించి చెప్పాలంటే అంతా సున్నకీసున్న హాల్లీకీసుల్లి. మన Venkateswaran గారికి, కలెక్టర్లకు ఈ అంకెల తమాషా తెలుసును. కరణాలనుబట్టి ఈ అంకెలు రయారు అయినవి. గాని భూమిమీదకు వెల్లి పంటదూచి తయారుచేసిన రెక్కలు కావు. గ్రామ కమిటీలు ఈ అంకెలు తయారుచెయ్యగలవు అని అన్నారు. బాగానే ఉంది. హాతే deficit, surplus ఈ రెండు (2) కూడా ఆకాశంలో పక్షులలాగ ఉన్నవి ఆ రెక్కలు. ఒక స్కేరు లేవతీసినారని నా భయము. ఈ యుద్ధంలో సైన్యకోసము విచ్చాటు చెయ్యబడ్డ Procurement Department ను cover up చేసుకొనేందుకు ప్రభుత్వం నేడు చెబుతుంది. ఇది అధిక శాస్త్రజ్ఞానము కల్గిన research scholar ను నియమించి ప్రభుత్వం రెక్కలు తయారు చేయిస్తే బాగా తెలుస్తాయి దీనిలో యన్న సత్యాసత్యములు. అటువంటివాడు ఉక్తోరోత్తర మద్రాసు వర్తక ప్రాయవలసినదే ఈ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని గురించి విమిప్రాస్తాడో అని నా భయము. గత 4 సంవత్సరముల వర్తక చూస్తే లంచగొండితనము ఎంతగా పెరిగిందో చూడండి. ఉద్యోగస్తుల legalised, dacoities చేసినారని నేను మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. Textile Department లో licencing is dacoity and in other departments it is looting. రెవిన్యూ డిపార్టుమెంటులో పనికిరానివారిని Textile Department లో జిల్లా ఆఫీసర్లగా వేసేరు నాకు తెలుసును. మన ప్రభుత్వంవారు Textile Officer (Venkateswaran) గారు very very honest Officer అని అంటూ ఉన్నారు. కాబట్టి నేను ఈ మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక రేషనింగు విషయంలో చెప్పవలసినదే భయముగా ఉంది. రేషనింగు డిపార్టుమెంటులో వైసెన్సుకు రూ 500, 600, 1,000 లు వరకు పెరిగింది రెండు రోజులలోనే. ఇది నేను మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఎందుకంటే రూ 1,000 లు లంచము ఇచ్చిన వైసెన్సి వి విధముగా అది రాబట్టుగలడు. తప్పుడు measure అయినా పెట్టాలి లేకపోతే inferior varieties ఇవ్వవలసినవస్తుంది. అందుచేత నేను మనవి చేసేది విమిటంటే వి కార్యక్రమములో అయినా సరే departments కు విడి hand over చెయ్యవద్దు అని చెబుతున్నాను. కారణం విమిటంటే ఈ కమిటీలో అంత్య నిర్ణయము విషయములో నేను చెప్పేది విమిటంటే అది election కాదు selection. ఎవరివల్ల తాసిల్దారుగారివల్ల. అంటే వారికి ఇష్టమువచ్చినవారిని వారు నిర్ణయించవచ్చును అన్న మాట. అంతతో అది ఆగలేదు. R.D.O. గారికి ఈ selection నవ్వవలయును అని అన్నారు. అక్కడ నా భయము విమిటంటే గ్రామంలో కొంతమందిని తాసిల్దారుగారు నెలకట్ట చెయ్యగానే కొంతమంది R.D.O. గారివద్దకు వెల్లి మక్కులను select చెయ్యవని అంటారు. అందుచేత గ్రామాలలో election పెట్టవలసినది అంటున్నాను. Selection ఉండవలసినదే ‘R.D.O. shall satisfy’ అనేది తీసివెయ్యడం సమంజసము అని నా సూచన. జిల్లా కమిటీకి కలెక్టరు గారు తాలూకా కమిటీకి R.D.O. గారు అధ్యక్షుల వహిస్తారు. తాలూకా సభ

[Sri A. Govindacharyulu]

[31st May 1946]

కమిటీకి తాసిల్దారుగారు అధ్యక్ష వహిస్తారు అంటే ఆ ఆఫీసర్లే సర్వాధికారులు అన్న మాట. తరువాత in consultation with అని ఒక చోట ఉంది. ఇక్కడ ఒక G.O. నాకు జ్ఞాపకం వస్తు ఉంది. Local Board లో transfer లు గురించి ఉన్న G.O. లోనే the Collector, the R.D.O. and Tahsildar may likewise nullify the Committee's decisions. They are not bound to carry out the wishes of the Committees. ప్రజల అభిప్రాయానికి ఇందులో అవకాశము లేదు.”

At this stage Chairman rang the bell.

SRI A. GOVINDACHARYULU :—“ Sir, I have got some more points to speak on. If the Chair will allow me I shall do so.”

MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN) :—“ The hon. Member has already exceeded his time. Members should not assume the Chair is entirely in their hands.”

SRI A. GOVINDACHARYULU :—“ కంట్రీలో పెయ్యడం చాలా బాగా ఉంది. కాని అధికారుల పెత్తనం మాత్రం తీసివెయ్యవలయును. రేషనింగు విషయంలో నేను చెప్పేస్తే. Procurement Department వారికి పెత్తనం ఇచ్చేరు. వయచేసి ఆ అధికారం తీసివెయ్యవలయును. అహర సమస్యలోను Textile Department లోను మధ్య వర్తకులను తీసివెయ్యవలెను అని నామనవి.

“ చాలామంది రైతులు నిలువచేస్తున్నారని అన్నారు. అది సక్రమమైనవికాదని నేను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.”

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—“ Sir, if I rise at this stage of the debate it is to make a few observations on behalf of the interest which I represent in this House. If the food policy adumbrated by Government is to be successful it is absolutely necessary that the co-operation of industrial as well as agricultural labour should be fully secured. We have seen from the memorandum presented by the Textile Commissioner that this Province has not been able to get the scheduled quota from Bombay on account of strikes that have occurred in the textile mills of that Province. Since the memorandum was prepared, more strikes have broken out in Bombay, and strikes are breaking out in other parts of the country as well. Strikes are occurring not only in the textile mills, but they are becoming a daily feature even in agriculture. One of the previous speakers, it is yourself, Sir, referred to the situation in the Cauvery delta at present. This discontent among the agricultural labourers in the Cauvery delta is very acute, and unless their grievances are redressed and peace is secured in industrial and agricultural areas we will find it very difficult to tide over the food crisis.

“ The problem that we are facing to-day is two-fold, food shortage and cloth shortage. The shortage of these two essential requirements is not a problem peculiar to this country alone. This problem is facing every country in the world. It is the lamentable legacy left by the last war. The devastated countries are short of food and the millions of those countries have to be fed from the resources of more fortunate countries. Similarly, Sir, in the

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occupied countries, where agriculture has not yet been set on its legs, the people have to be fed from the supplies from other countries in a prosperous position. Very few countries to-day are in that position. Probably Australia and America after meeting their requirements will be able to help countries suffering from food shortage. The cloth problem, the food problem and the famine problem are international problems to-day. And they have to be tackled internationally. They are being tackled internationally. Representatives of our country have gone to America to secure for us international co-operation in tiding over the food situation. I feel, Sir, India's ability to face the crisis, our capacity to solve the problems will depend very much on the results of the discussions that are taking place in Delhi. Unless our country becomes politically independent we will command no respect outside, and we will not get our quota. Even such an able and resourceful statesman like Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and our distinguished countryman Sir S. V. Ramamurti who have gone to America, have not been able to get an assurance of full quota. If to-day our country is assured of independence as a result of the discussions that are taking place in Delhi and Simla, if our country gets freedom to-morrow and is free just like any other free country in the world, we will be able to get every possible relief from other countries for tiding over the situation.

"The situation has to be faced in two ways. Our own resources are not sufficient. We require help from America and Canada. To a considerable extent we have to depend on our own resources. For that, a long range programme is absolutely necessary for facing the present crisis as well as to avoid such distressing situations in the future. Our agriculture is in a backward condition. Unless you relieve the age-long agonies of the peasants there will be no peace in the agricultural world. The lot of the agricultural workers in Tanjore to which district you and I belong is simply inhuman. They are under a condition of practical slavery. I know, Sir, from personal experience, the distress, the difficulties and the unbearable conditions to which they are subjected by big landlords, some of whom belong to my own party. Unless a fair deal is given to the agricultural workers, unless they are assured of minimum conditions of service we cannot obtain contentment among them and it will be difficult for us to improve our production and tide over the food crisis. You cannot solve the problem by importing sappers and miners when labour on land resort to strikes. One word, Sir, about industrial workers. The textile mills have to work full swing for 24 hours if we are to successfully face the cloth shortage. Mr. Theobald, the other day, deplored that at a time when production has to be increased, the Government are cutting down the hours of work in mills and factories. I think, he did not say it is foolish to cut down hours of work. The workers who toil day-in and day-out are entitled to get a fair deal. They are entitled to a shorter day; they are entitled to better wages and good living. They are not to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. When the Government introduced a shorter day of work for them it was to enable them

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to live as human beings which was bound to increase their production efficiency. Mr. Theobald cannot deny this. If the mill-owners want to introduce six-hours-day and work four shifts and get the best out of their labour and the best out of their mills, nobody will object to it. We only want that the hours of work for the workers should be cut to eight, or six, or if possible even five a day. By a shorter day, production is not going to be handicapped. On the other hand it will improve the quality of production.

"Then, Sir, all the calamities which arise from famine and pestilence always fall upon the working class. Without their co-operation and without their contentment no country can face a serious crisis like the present one. I know Government to-day are doing their best to promote their welfare. But it is not sufficient, Sir.

"I wish to urge that every attempt should be made to prevent strikes by studying the conditions before a strike breaks out and redressing the grievance. Prevention is always better than cure. The Government that was in power before would not interfere even several months after a strike broke out. But the present Government do interfere promptly. I want them to interfere before a strike breaks out and avert it by a proper handling of the situation. Without the goodwill, co-operation and devotion of labour it will be impossible to get over the crisis.

"Industrial workers suffer much from the present rationing system. For example, in regard to the substitution of grains why can't you give wheat for the richer classes, and the middle classes, who can afford to get their milk, ghee, fruits and other auxiliaries. But to force wheat on people who have not even good water to drink will be a cruelty which we cannot stand. I know how industrial workers are forced to buy wheat when they cannot afford to get milk and other accessories. Consequently they have been suffering from enteric troubles and other sickness. The employers will bear testimony when I say that with the rationing schemes and substitution of foodgrains the incidence of sickness among industrial workers has sharply gone up and absenteeism has increased considerably. There are people who are accustomed to ragi and cholam and other substitutes. I urge that for such people those grains should be given, and not food which they cannot digest. Industrial workers have suffered terribly at the hands of the ration officers. If a worker wants to have his ration card altered he has to wait on the ration office for hours together, and even losing his attendance, his pay and also incurring the displeasure of his employer. Industrial workers should therefore be given special facilities. Every employer should be compelled to run canteens to feed the workers during day and open grain shops, as has already been done in some industrial undertakings. I only wish to emphasize, Sir, that in getting over the present situation, which is a very difficult one, it is absolutely necessary that the country and the Government should obtain the wholehearted co-operation of every section of Labour. That could be done by the present Government, because I know they command the confidence of the

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masses. I want, Sir, that a systematic programme should be evolved, that a steady policy should be pursued to alleviate the distress of the agricultural and industrial workers in order that they may co-operate with you, with the Government and with the country in tiding over the present crisis.

"I thank you, Sir, for your indulgence."

* **SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM** :—“అధ్యక్ష ! మన ప్రధానిగారు ఇవి అన్ని అమలుపరచడంలో వివిధమైన అడ్డంకులు వచ్చినా వాటిని లక్ష్యముచేయ్యక అమలు పర్చవలెను అని నేను కోరుతూ కొన్ని సూచనలను చేస్తున్నాను. ఇదివరకు అడ్వైజర్స్ ప్రభుత్వంలో అధికాహార ఉత్పత్తికి ప్రచారముచేసిన అడ్వైజరు ప్రభుత్వం ఇంతవరకు ఏ విధముగా అమలుపరచింది అంటే గవర్నమెంటు ఆఫీసుల కాంపౌండులలో తోటలువేయించింది అంతే. నిజముగా అధికాహారోత్పత్తి చేయ్యాలేదని పేద రైతుల అభిప్రాయం. గవర్నమెంటువారికి కొన్ని వేల ఎకరాల లంకభూములు వారి ఆధీనము లో ఉన్న సందర్భములో ఆ లంకభూములను సాగుకు రూ 600, రూ 700 లు వరకు ఆదాయముకొరకు ప్రతిసంవత్సరం ఆమరకం చేస్తూ రైతును ఈ స్వల్ప ఆదాయము వచ్చే ఈ ఆహార పదార్థములను పండించవలెనని చెప్పడం చాలా అన్యాయం అయిన సంగతి. ఈ రాష్ట్రములో కొన్ని వేల ఎకరాల లంకభూములు పొగాకు సాగు నిమిత్తం వినియోగించబడుతున్నాయి. ఈ స్టేటుమెంటు ప్రకారం రాబోవు 6 మాసాలకు కొన్ని లక్షల టన్నుల ఆహారధాన్యాలుకావలెను. ప్రజలు ధాన్యము లేక ఉన్న పరిస్థితులలో ఈ మంత్రి వర్గము ప్రజాప్రభుత్వం కాబట్టి వెంటనే ఈ పథతి మార్పుచేసి ఆదాయము తగ్గినా సరే ఆ సమస్యను మరొకవిధముగా భర్తీచేసి సడలు లంకలను ప్రభుత్వమే తీసుకుని ఆహారపదార్థములను ఉత్పత్తినిమిత్తము సాగుచేయవలయును. అవ సరమైతే శాసనముచేసి ఆ లంకలలో ఆహార ధాన్యములను పండించేట్లు చేయాలి. ఇది సీజను (Season) కాబట్టి వెంటనే చేయవలయును. ఇందు మూలముగా కొన్ని లక్షల టన్నుల ధాన్యము లభించ గలదని నా అభిప్రాయము. అదే ఎక్కవమంది రైతుల అభిప్రాయము.

“రెండవ విషయం. ఈ ఆహారపదార్థాలలో దీర్ఘకాలపు వరి పంటలు స్వల్ప కాలపు వరి పంటలు ఉన్నవి. దీర్ఘకాలపు పంటలకు టన్నుకు 40, 50 రూ॥ ఎక్కువ ఆదాయము వస్తుంది. స్వల్ప కాలపు వరి పంటలలో ధర సమస్య వస్తుంది. ఎక్కువకు లీ ఇవ్వవలెననివస్తుంది. ఈ పరిస్థితులలో రైతుకు ప్రోత్సాహము ఇచ్చి స్వల్ప కాలములోనే పండి వరి పంటలను పండించవలెను. టన్నుకు రూ 45 గాని రూ 50 గాని సజరారు ఇస్తే తక్షణమే 4 మాసాలలోనే పంట రావచ్చును. మూడు మాసాలకు సరిపడే ఆహార పదార్థములలోనుండి ఉంది అని ఈ స్టేటుమెంటు ప్రకారం తెలుస్తుంది. కాబట్టి ఈ కఠిన పరిస్థితులలో వెంటనే వర్య తీసుకోవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను.

“మరొక విషయము. Excise Department లో Deadrot operations అని ఉంది. తాటిచెట్లు వచ్చిన చోట తక్కిన మంచి చెట్లనుకూడా తీసి కెయ్యవలయును. ఇప్పుడు తాత్కాలికముగా ఆహార ధాన్య కొరత రోజులలో ఈ order లను నిలుపుచెయ్యవలెనని నామనవి. ఆ చెట్లు ఫలితములవల్ల అనేక వేల మంది బ్రతుకవచ్చును కాబట్టి ఈ ప్రజా ప్రతినిధి ప్రభుత్వం ఈ విషయములను తీవ్రముగా ఆలోచించి తగిన వర్య తీసుకోవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను.

“నామనవి విమించి ఎక్కువ భాగము లంకలు జమీందార్ల చేతులలోను, ధనిక వర్గముల చేతులలోను ప్రభుత్వం చేతులలోను ఉన్నవి ధరలకు అసింది పాశ్చాత్య లక్ష్యాహానికి లొంగిపోయి పొగాకు పంట వెయ్యడం ఆరంభించేయి. ఎక్కువ భూమి పొగాకు

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పంటకు వినియోగపడుతూఉంది. క్రిందటి మంత్రి వర్గములో యేవిధముగా Prohibition చట్టము చేసేరో ప్రస్తుత పరిస్థితులలో జంతు గొంతులేకుండా అవసరమైన శాసనములను చేసి పొగాకు పంటను అరికట్టి సదరు ఖాతాములు అహార పదార్థములు ఉత్పత్తిచేయుటకు శాసనము చేస్తేనేగాని ఈ కరువును అరికట్టడానికి మరొక విధానము ఉండదని నేను అనుకుంటున్నాను. అందు చేత ఈ విషయములో పూర్తిగా చర్చించి ప్రజలకు అవసరమైన శాసనములు చెయ్యవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను.”

SRI M. NARAYANA RAO :—“ అదృష్ట ! ఆంధ్ర భాషలో మాట్లాడడమువల్ల కొంతమంది గౌరవ సభ్యులకు వింతగాఉంది. అయినా అవసరమైతేగాని నేను ఆంగ్ల భాషలో మాట్లాడను. భాషా ప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్ర విభజన లేనందున మనకు చాలా కష్టముగా ఉంది. సంపూర్ణ స్వాతంత్ర్యంతో పాటు భాషా ప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్రం కూడా లభిస్తుందని అనుకుంటున్నాను. అంతే కాకుండా ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు భాషా ప్రయుక్త విభజనకు సుముఖులు అని నమ్ముతాను. ప్రభుత్వ కార్యక్రమము, శాసన సభల కార్యక్రమము కూడా ఎవరి భాషలో వారు చేసేకొనేటట్లు చెయ్యవలెనని నేను కోరుచున్నాను.

“ ఇప్పుడు అహారసమస్య దేశమును వైశాచిక రూపముతో చూస్తున్నది. గాని ఒక్క విషయం మాత్రం చెప్పాలి. ఎక్కవ ఎవరిని బాధ పెడుతుందో అలాచించాలి. నా అభిప్రాయం ప్రకారం కాయకణ్ణం చేసుకునే labourer కు ఎక్కవ కష్టంగా ఉంది. సాధారణంగా కాఫీ, టీ తాగేవారికి middle class వారికి ఇది ఎక్కువ బాధ కరంగా లేదు. ఇక్కడఉన్న గౌరవ సభ్యులకు అహార సమస్య అంత బాధగాఉంది అని చెప్పడానికి వీలులేదు. వారికి ఇప్పుడు ఇచ్చే అహారము ఎక్కవేగాని తక్కువ అని చెప్పడానికి వీలులేదు. నేను ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరింది ఏమిటంటే రూ 100, రూ 200 ఆదాయమువచ్చేవారికి 12 oz. లకుతక్కువచేసి కాయకణ్ణం పడేవారికి ఎక్కువ ఇవ్వవచ్చునని నా అభిప్రాయం. రూ 100 కు పైబడ్డ ఆదాయం వచ్చేవారు కాయగూరలు, పండ్లు తీసుకుని బ్రతకడానికి అవకాశంఉంది. నా అనుభవంలో ఇప్పుడు ఇచ్చే ధాన్యములేకుండానే బ్రతకవచ్చును అని నా అభిప్రాయం. ఈ బియ్యంగాని గోధుమలుగాని లేకుండా బ్రతకగలమని నా అభిప్రాయం. కాబట్టి కాయ కణ్ణముచేసే వ్యవసాయదారులకు పాస్త్రామికులకు ఎక్కువ అహారధాన్యములు ఇవ్వవలయును. సాధారణముగా కాఫీ, టీ తాగేవారికి తక్కువ అవసరం. అటువంటివారికి బియ్యం తక్కువచెయ్యవలయును. 2 ozs. sugar కావలెనంటే 1 oz. బియ్యం తగ్గించి ఇవ్వవలయును. కొంత విభజన చెయ్యాలని నా అభిప్రాయం. అది ప్రభుత్వ కర్తవ్యం. కాబట్టి ప్రభుత్వంవారు కాయ కణ్ణ పడేవారికి ఎక్కువ అహారము ఇవ్వవలయును.

“ అంతే కాకుండా వ్యవసాయ శాఖవారి మీద దానిని గురించి ఎక్కువ శ్రద్ధ వహించవలయును. ఒక వ్యవసాయ శాఖ ఉద్యోగస్తునితో మాట్లాడుతూ మీ వ్యవసాయ శాఖవారు ప్రజలకు ఏమి సహాయంచేస్తున్నారు అని అడిగేను. చేస్తున్నాము అని అన్నాడు. గాని ఆయన యే మొఖము పెట్టుకుని గ్రామంలోకి వెళ్లిగలడు. గ్రామం రాగానే మా బండికి పట్టాలేదు, మా బండికి ఇరుసులేదు, ఎరువులులేవు అని విడుస్తున్న రైతులకు ఎవరు వచ్చి ఏమి లాభము. నిన్న ఫరూకి సాయబుగారు చెప్పేరు బండి పట్టాలు దొరకడం ఎంత కష్టమో మన ప్రధానిగారికి ప్రియమైన జోగన్న పారెంలో 30 బండ్లు పట్టాలు లేకుండా ఉన్నాయి. ఆ గ్రామానికి కోటా పద్దతిలో సంవత్సరానికి ఒకటి చొప్పున ఇస్తే 30 సంవత్సరాలకు ఆ గ్రామంలో బండ్లన్నింటికీ పట్టాలు వస్తవి అన్న మాట. కాబట్టి ప్రభుత్వంవారు తాలా కంపెనీని అయినా కిరోస్కోలు కంపెనీని అయినా వశముచేసికొని ఈ పట్టాలు ఇతర వ్యవసాయ పనిముట్లు రైతులకు ఇవ్వవలయును.

31st May 1946]

[Sri M. Narayana Rao]

రైతుల దుస్థితి విమీ అభివృద్ధి కాలేదు. అందుచేత ప్రభుత్వంవారు రైతులకు కావలసిన వస్తువులను బాగా సరఫరా చేయించవలయును.

“ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఏ కొత్త scheme పెట్టినా రూ 0-6-0 వస్తుందా రూ 0-8-0 వస్తుందా అని ఆలోచించి ప్రారంభించారు. ఇప్పుడు బ్రహ్మాండమైన డ్రాను పరిస్థితులలో ఉన్నాము కాబట్టి ఈ రెక్కలు అన్ని ఆలోచించక కనులు అన్నీ సక్రమముగా త్వరగా జరుగవలసినవి నా అభిప్రాయము. ప్రతి జిల్లాలో 500 ఎకరాలు భూమి ప్రత్యేకించి ఉత్పత్తి ఎక్కువ అయేటట్లు చూడవలయును. మన దేశంలో రైతు Conservative mentality గలవాడు కాబట్టి వ్యవసాయశాఖవారే ఎక్కువ భూమిని తీసుకుని వారే ఎక్కువ శుటలను పండించి రైతులకు చూపవలసినవి నా అభిప్రాయం. నూతులకు Electricity ఇవ్వవలయును. రేటు తగ్గించి ఇవ్వవలయును. బావులలో నారు నీరు తీసుకొనేదానికి ఈ విద్యుత్ శక్తి థారాలోకుగా ఉపయోగపరచవలయును. ఇంచే కాకుండా ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎక్కడైనా సరే line వెయ్యవలయునంటే వ్యాపార సరఫరా ఆలోచిస్తుంది. capital expenditure మీద ఎంత outturn వచ్చినా సరే నష్టము వచ్చినా సరే విద్యుత్ శక్తి రైతులు వినియోగించేటట్లు ప్రభుత్వంవారు చూడవలయును. దీనికి రెండు పరికరములులేవు. కిర్కొస్కూరు కంపెనీవారు తాతా కంపెనీవారు చూడా రైతుకు కావలసిన ఆయంధ సామానులను పెంటనే motor లను, పట్టాలు, వస్త్రాలను తయారు చేయవలయును. లేకపోతే ప్రభుత్వంవారే ఆ సంస్థలను స్వాధీనం చేసుకొనవలయును లేకపోతే రైతులను బాగుపర్చలేదు. ఎంత ఖర్చు అయినను సరే రైతులకు ప్రోత్సాహము ఇవ్వాలి ఉంది.

“ఇంక వస్త్రముల విషయంలో గాంధీగారు 1920 లగాయతు స్వయం పోషణ విధానమును అనుసరించి ప్రతివారు ప్రతి గ్రామంకూడా వారికి కావలసిన వస్త్రోత్పత్తి చేసికోవలయును అన్నారు. ప్రధాన మంత్రిగారు జోగన్నపాలెంలో ఆ గ్రామంలో ఉన్నవారంతా వారికి కావలసిన గుడ్డను తయారు చేయాలి అని అన్నారు. ఆ మాదిరిగా అక్కడ జరుగుచున్నది. ఈ సందర్భములో గాంధీగారు ‘Harjan’ లో మంత్రుల కర్రవ్వం అని వ్రాసినారు. అది జ్ఞాపకం చేస్తున్నాను. ప్రతి గ్రామానికి బట్ట supply చేయవలయును. కాబట్టి మా గ్రామానికి కావలసినబట్ట మీరే తయారు చేసుకోవలసిన నిర్బంధవిధానమును అమలుపరచవలయును అని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని నేను కోరుచున్నాను. ప్రతి గ్రామంలోను ఆ గ్రామానికి సరిపాయ్యే బట్టను తయారుచేసుకుందికి అవకాశములను కలుగజేయవలయును. దీనికోసము ఎంతఖర్చు అయినాసరే. ఆ బాధ్యత మన క్యాంగ్రెసు మంత్రి వర్గమీద ఉంది. గాంధీగారు చెప్పినది మనకు శాసనమే ఆవిధానము అనుసరించి మన Venkateswaran గారికి విమీపని లేకుండా చేసి ప్రజలందరికీ కావలసిన గుడ్డను ఉత్పత్తి చేయవలసినది నా అభిప్రాయం. చేనేత బట్ట control చేస్తాము అని అన్నాడుగాని శంపకము విషయమై విమీ చెప్పలేదు. ఘోషాగారు చెప్పినట్లు చేనేత గుడ్డంతా under ground కాగలదు. ఏ విధముగా అయినా బట్ట కావలయును. అది తయారు చేయించి ఆ బట్టను సరఫరా చేయించవలయును. Control వల్ల విమంత లాభములేదు. పట్టు control చేయడంకంటే చేయకుండా ఉండడమే మంచిది.”

* MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN):—“Hon. Members, I have received notice of the following amendment from Mr. K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib:—

‘Add the following at the end:—

“That on further consideration, this House is of opinion that the draft proposals of the Government regarding

[Mr. Chairman]

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mill cloth are impracticable and unworkable and that rationing of mill cloth be introduced in the Province and that the rations be fixed according to the requirements of the various classes of consumers in regard to quality, quantity and variety.”

On this I wish to say a few words.

“ The resolution moved by the Hon. the Premier that has been the subject of discussion for so many days is that the food and cloth situation in the Province be taken into consideration. I believe a day after the motion was made, an amendment was also given notice of by certain members of the Muslim League Party taking exception to the draft proposals and putting forward new proposals of their own. The Hon. President who was then presiding dispensed with notice of the amendment and gave them an opportunity to move the amendment in view of the draft proposals having been given not simultaneously with the note that was issued by the Hon. the Premier but some time afterwards. Some draft proposals with reference to mill cloth have now been placed before us. No doubt, I read them even then, I have listened with very great care to the speeches made by the hon. Members on the subject, I read it twice to see whether these draft proposals were not the embodiment of previous suggestions and remarks made by the Hon. the Premier and the several speakers who spoke in support of the position taken by the Government and also in opposition, I may be wrong in my appreciation of the nature of these proposals; anyhow I think that in substance there is only a reiteration of the proposals already placed before the House on behalf of the Government trying to meet half way the criticisms that emanated from the members who put the opposite view. I therefore think that the putting forward of what is called an amendment at this stage may not be correct, and I think, under the rules, I am entitled to rule it out of order, on the ground of want of sufficient notice. Therefore my ruling is that this amendment does not arise. But at the same time I wish to state one other thing. There is no doubt however that the draft proposals have been put forward to-day, and the Members of the Muslim League who insist upon making remarks about some of these draft proposals are strictly, technically correct in saying that they want to speak on them. Therefore, provided of course they observe the time-limit fixed also taking note of the fact that the House is becoming thinner and thinner. (Many hon. Members have already gone.) And, also that compared with the number of Members of this House with the number of Members of the other House, we have taken probably an equal amount of time to that taken by the other House in considering these proposals. The Members of the Muslim League, the Opposition may speak. I however appeal to hon. Members to limit the duration of their speeches. There is another matter. I am sorry I made a certain remark to my hon. friend Mr. Govindacharyulu, when he was speaking. The remark was to the effect that ‘ I appeal to hon. Member not to place the Chair in a predicament as if the Chair is entirely in their hands.’ I am sorry, I repeat, that I made that remark to

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Mr. Govindacharyulu. But, I think, having had two extensions of time, when he spoke he could have avoided asking me for further time. I propose to request the Members of the Muslim League, who want to speak on the draft proposals before the House, to speak only on the draft proposals and that for not more than 10 minutes each. I know and I think they will agree with me that they will not traverse the ground already touched upon.

"I have got a note from Mr. Govindacharyulu to grant him two more minutes to speak and to conclude his observations on the draft proposals. The House will pardon me if I allow him the time he asks for, because I presume he has something very important to say which, on account of my applying the time-limit, he was not able to say.

"I propose now to ask the Members of the Muslim League to speak on the draft proposals limiting their speeches to 10 minutes each and then allow Mr. Govindacharyulu to have his 2 minutes.

"Of course it is understood that the amendment has been ruled out of order by me."

* ABDUL LATEEF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—

"Mr. Chairman, I shall certainly not take more time than you have been kind enough to give me. I feel, Sir, that my purpose is served by your kindness to allow the Members of the Muslim League Party to speak on the draft proposals placed before this House by the Hon. the Premier with regard to mill cloth. Therefore, whether the amendment sent up by us is moved or not, it matters little.

"At the outset I have to make one observation. When I was not present here, I am told and I have verified it, that my hon. Friend Mr. Madhava Menon, speaking on these proposals, made a very regrettable remark that there seems to be something suspicious about the fact that it is the Muslim League Party that is taking the part of the wholesale dealers. I have verified it and have satisfied myself that he has made these remarks. Therefore, I must say, on behalf of my party, that we take very strong exception to these remarks.

"We have not, Sir, you are aware, imported any communal heat into this matter and I appeal to the Members here not to think in terms of communities. I must point out, Sir, while I was speaking yesterday, I referred to the hon. Member Mr. Theobald who was advocating the cause of the wholesalers."

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—"May I correct one misstatement, Sir. I did not say that the Muslim League, but the Members who spoke from the Muslim League, I felt had a soft corner for the wholesalers which was suspicious. I never said that the conduct of the Muslim League was suspicious."

* ABDUL LATEEF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—"Sir whatever may be the wording, the spirit is there and I am attacking the spirit. My hon. friend Mr. Theobald who advocated the cause of the wholesalers is not a Muslim and Mr. Madhava Menon would never like him to be converted as a Muslim. (Laughter.)

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" I referred to a resolution passed by the South Indian Chamber of Commerce—a responsible body consisting of a majority of Hindu members. They are merchants and most of them are not Muslims. Therefore, Sir, this question does not at all affect the Muslim community as a whole. It is a matter of general interest to the whole population. If my hon. friends opposite think that there is something suspicious about the attitude taken by the Muslim members of this House, the opposite can also be said that there seems to be something suspicious and sinister behind these proposals, because these proposals intend to place the local congressmen in power in the taluks and districts. But, Sir, I am not of that view whatever people may say. I know that the Hon. the Premier is a gentleman who is a friend both of the Muslims and of the Hindus and I also know that most of the Members on the Treasury Bench are animated by the same spirit. I, for my part, appreciate these gentlemen. I have very great respect and regard and esteem for these gentlemen, because I know they have suffered in the cause of the country. Whatever may be our ideas or differences and whatever may be my political feelings or the feelings of those on this side or on that side of the House, there is something common to us as human beings. We appreciate their great sacrifices and service, and myself having contributed in my own humble way, and we feel that these are gentlemen who will certainly not look to the interests of the people as Hindus or as Muslims, but that they will look to the interests of the population of this Province as a whole.

" Now, Sir, excuse me for my frank statement when I say that, with no session to-morrow—I was under the impression that I need not at all come here to-day—these proposals have been flung at us as a surprise when there is no time even to go through them. I was having a cursory glance at them and my impression is, it may perhaps be wrong, that there is nothing in them. I made a concrete suggestion yesterday that the scheme which was referred to in the Textile report should be divulged and placed before the House, that the scheme should be disclosed in order that the Members may understand it and make their own observations and constructive suggestions. But, here, in the draft proposals, I find that there is nothing to improve the production of cloth. It is only after the cloth is produced by some unknown agency, by some mysterious hand that the question of distribution will arise. The important thing is to produce the cloth, to manufacture the cloth in greater quantities. It is only after manufacturing it that you need think of distribution. I want the Hon. the Premier to consider this aspect first. The cloth must be first produced. Production should be increased. Before the child is born how can you think of marriage for the child? I want that the child should be there and the cloth should be there first. When the cloth is put on the market, its distribution question will arise and not till then. Here, speaking subject to correction, there is nothing to show how best the production of cloth can be increased and improved. I want that and nothing more. We have already made observations, as you, Sir, have rightly said, on these matters. We do not want to make any farther remarks

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with regard to this. All that we want is that the poor and the needy people should be helped and supplied with the necessary cloth and the necessary food.

"I expressed the hope yesterday and am still hoping—I will not say I am hoping against hope—sincerely and genuinely, knowing as I do the Hon. the Premier for the last thirty years as a true gentleman with a soft corner for all the people of the land, Hindus as well as Muslims, that he will do his best to help the people who are in distress now. Therefore, as I said, I do not want to make any further observations. We want to make constructive suggestions and we have made some. It is still not too late for the Government to come forward with a constructive scheme, a practical scheme, a scheme which can be worked out to the satisfaction of the public. I request the Government to bring forward a scheme which will create confidence in the people that cloth is forthcoming, not at the rate of one saree for ten families but at the rate at least of one saree for every female. As it is, there is no certainty that each family will get one saree for a whole year. I want some concrete proposals must emanate from the Ministry, from the opposite Benches. I want that the officers of the Government should put their heart and soul into the matter. If this is not going to happen, excuse me, Sir, my presence here and your presence here is of no use. We have no business to be here unless we are able to help the people. If we are going to do things in a dilatory manner, if we are going to adopt evasive tactics and carry on in the age-old style and put in force schemes without completely understanding them, we will be merely wasting paper and precious time. The Hon. the Premier should, like Haroon Al Rashid, say: 'I do not want these regulations and these rules.' I want the Premier to see the people in their distress, in their nakedness and in their misery and starvation and, having seen them exposed to the threat of death, say: 'I want to help them without any other agency intervening.' That should be the spirit of the Ministry, the popular Ministry. I say, our Premier here is not equal in status to the Premiers of Sovereign States, though in spite of the talk that we have independence we are still under foreign domination. We are still groaning under the agony of subjection. Therefore, subject to these limitations, under the limited powers he has got, I request the Hon. the Premier to do away with all the Governmental agency, to go to the people—he is a man of the masses—and see their condition. I need not bring in any witness, to bear me out when I say that people look to his Government and people look to him for help and relief from distress. They look to him in the hope that he will do all that is possible at this critical juncture and I know he has realized his duty much more than I or the other hon. Members and much more than the Members of the whole House. I do not want to make any further observations."

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—"Mr. Chairman, I am afraid that I have not been able to go through the detailed draft proposals but on a cursory glance, I find that they are on the same lines as the proposals which have been

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formulated by the Government in regard to food. The same defects which I enumerated in connexion with the machinery for food apply to these proposals also. There is nothing in these proposals to eliminate the possibility of abuse of powers vested in the village committees on account of the factious spirit that is rampant in the villages and also on account of personal prejudices and political animosities now raging there consequent on the recent elections. The Hon. the Premier himself has received a number of telegrams regarding these, and I would appeal to him not to aggravate the situation by vesting these powers in the villagers. The Hon. the Premier knows this very well and that is why we suggested that a Central Board should be constituted for this purpose and that District and Taluk Advisory Committees should also be formed to co-ordinate the work. We still feel that our original proposals should be adopted in trying to tackle the cloth situation also. Again, the proposals of the Government do not contain any provisions or suggestions for the elimination of the autocracy of the subordinate textile officers. We frequently hear complaints from the people in the remoter part of the country regarding the way in which these subordinate textile officials treat the people and the merchants. I know many instances where, even before the trader gets a particular kind of cloth, he is asked to reserve out of the incoming supply a certain quantity, if not the entire quantity for the textile officer's family and friends. Such oppression and tyranny are going on in many parts of the country unchecked and I would beg of the Government and of the Provincial Textile Commissioner to look into these matters and put a stop to them.

"As regards distribution, I want to make a few concrete suggestions and I hope the Hon. the Premier will agree with me as to their necessity and urgency and carry them out as early as possible. The other day when I was speaking about the distribution, I pointed out in general terms about the indiscriminate way in which cloth is sold in the bazaars. We often find Sir, that some persons stand in queue before shops almost every-day, buy the cloth at the controlled price and then sell it in the black-market at a much higher price. This should be stopped. Again, distribution should be according to the necessity of the consumers, as regards quantity, quality and variety. A cooly is not in need of a costly variety of coating, or shirting or a shervani cloth. But he purchases cloth of this variety at a cost of say Rs. 2 per yard. What use would he make of such cloth? I would therefore urge that the distribution of cloth should be made according to the requirements of the consumers, strict regard being had to quantity, quality and variety.

"Another important matter to which I as a Muslim, should like to draw the attention of the Government, is this. It is not about living persons. It concerns dead persons and we have a duty towards them. As the Honorary Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League I wrote to the Provincial Textile Commissioner regarding the necessity of supplying cloth for being used as shroud for Muslim dead bodies and he was kind enough to comply with my request. In the City, I know some provision has been made

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for supplying cloth for the purpose, but I find that this is not the case in most of the villages and mufassal towns. The other day when I was in Tinnevely, a relation of mine, passed away and I tried all the shops there for the necessary quantity of cloth for shroud, but it was not available (i.e.) I could not get the necessary mull cloth. I somehow managed to get over the situation, as I had already had with me for my personal use some cloth and I used the same for shroud. I would therefore appeal to Government to make special provision in every Muslim centre for the supply of shroud cloth, because it is an important thing to the Muslims, and they have got a duty to the dead, which they cannot ignore.

“Next, I would request the Hon. the Premier to give due consideration to the doubts and suspicions, we feel strongly in the matter of these village committees and taluk committees. We feel that the factions which are already in the villages will come into play in all their fury when these committees actually begin to work. The Hon. the Premier will bear me out when I say, what bitterness there is in villages on account of the recent elections and I do not want that these things should be perpetuated in an aggravated form. I would therefore appeal to him to see that in the constitution of these committees, representatives of the major political parties—he knows what I mean by that—are appointed. My hon. friend Mr. Suryanarayana Rao is under the impression that the members of the committee are to be elected. But I am afraid that they are not to be elected, but only to be nominated by the Tahsildar. The Tahsildar will, according to the draft proposals, convene a conference of the villagers and ‘select really representative and influential men of the village.’ Political affiliation is surely going to play a great part and we will have to face the realities. We cannot ignore them. Even in villages people have become politically conscious and almost everyone belongs to some political party or other. If you are going to literally stick to the condition that the Tahsildar should select ‘really representative men without any political affiliation’ you are not going to get the necessary number of members. I would therefore appeal to the Government to see that in selecting these representatives to the village committees, the true representatives of both the political parties, namely, the Congress and the Muslim League are appointed so as to make the committees truly representative. If the Government are not going to accept the amendment of the Muslim League Party, I would request that the above suggestions may at least be borne in mind.”

* SRI A. GOVINDACHARYULU :—“Mr. Chairman, while thanking you for your kindness in calling me again, I wish to offer a few suggestions for the consideration of the Government. I come from a fertile district of West Godavari. In the Godavari and Kistna deltas, there are about 9,200 pattadars. You will find, Sir, that among those pattadars, those who have got one acre and below one acre are 35.2 per cent and those who have 5 acres and less than 5 acres come to 39.6 per cent and those who have between 5 to 10 acres come to 12.1 per cent. The total of these pattadars

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comes to 86.9 per cent. That means that no pattadar or agriculturist who has got lands between 5 to 10 acres, can hoard any paddy. He cannot meet even the expenses and find enough paddy for the needs of his own family. So I submit, Sir, that the ryots are not the culprits in the matter of hoarding. I submit these figures for your kind information. If you look at the position from another angle, namely from the assessment paid by these ryots, the position will be clearer. In our Presidency there are about 5½ millions of pattadars. The percentage of pattadars who pay an assessment of Re. 1 and less is 20 per cent those who pay between Re. 1 and Rs. 10 is 54.2 per cent and those who pay between Rs. 30 and Rs. 50 is 8.3 per cent. Pattadars paying Rs. 50 will have 5 acres and those paying Rs. 30 will have 3 acres. All these figures put together, come to 92 per cent. That is to say, that only about 8 per cent of the pattadars in this Presidency will have anything more than their actual requirements of paddy. If we compare these figures with statistics of 1880 of Mr. Srinivasaraghava Ayyangar, ryots are in no way better now. So, Sir, I submit that all the hoarding of grain that is much talked of, can be found only in the granaries of the middlemen. That is why I asked that the middlemen should be eliminated.

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p.m.

"By taking the ryotwari accounts we will find out how much produce actually we can have in this Presidency. The price of paddy will have to be fixed taking into account the cost of cultivation in the various places and abolish the trade in paddy and rice. The ryot then will have no option other than to go to the Government to sell his paddy. The Government must be the purchaser and the distributor. For this purpose let there be a separate branch of administration with a Food Minister at the head and a separate department working under him. Let all the patriots of the country who are now out of the jail take a hand in the running of the department. They will serve the department with zeal and honesty. It is only then we can avert the crisis by removing the middleman and rooting out corruption. Let a similar procedure be followed with regard to the Textile Department also. Let the mills be taken over by the Government. When in England the Government are taking over many industries why should not we in this country take over the production of the mills, and distribute the cloth through this agency which I have mentioned? It is in this way that we can avoid the profit and dishonesty of the middlemen. We need not then blame any Government officer. If we want to put down corruption it is now very difficult. The only way to see that no corruption enters into our food and cloth business is to have a separate department under a Food Minister to which recruitment should be made from the ranks of zealous, patriotic and honest men who have now just come out of the jails.

"Before I close, Sir, I want to show you a specimen of cloth here which is entirely mill-made but which is made to appear like handloom cloth and sold in this very city, the headquarters of the Provincial Government, for a very high price. (The specimen was handed over to the Premier.) Steps should be taken to stop these practices."

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* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ Sir, it is 10 minutes to 8 o'clock and I am glad that the debate will be closing just now. It has been a full-dress debate, opportunity having been given to everyone who was prepared to make his own contribution to this important problem. The same thing happened until to-day in the other House and that House has adjourned till to-morrow to continue the debate on the cloth situation. These draft proposals that were given there in the other House have been sent up here and our friends in the Opposition thought that they were suddenly introduced here without notice. It will not be quite correct to say that they have been introduced without notice. For, in paragraph 3 of page 3 of my speech^a (printed and circulated) you will find the following :—

‘ There have been widespread complaints that mill cloth is not reaching the poorer classes of consumers. The Government have accordingly under their active consideration a scheme for the equitable distribution of the available supplies of mill cloth to all areas and sections of the consuming public. For the smooth and effective enforcement of the scheme, the Government propose to utilize the services of the village, taluk and district committees which are being set up in connexion with the administration of food control measures. The details of the scheme are being worked out and the Government hope to publish a Press Note on the subject shortly. ’

“ In the circumstances, Sir, the hon. Member Mr. Farookhi's arguments simply astonished me. He is a great lawyer but I never knew he has developed these faculties to such an extent. To have great faculties is all right, but there is the danger of making mistakes if one does not read carefully what he is referring to. The hon. Member Mr. Farookhi laid great stress—he thumped the table—and said that these proposals do not say anything about the making of cloth. I say, Sir, this paragraph does not refer to the question of making cloth at all. With great eloquence, Mr. Farookhi was saying : ‘ Where is the cloth here? Let the cloth come here, then we can talk about its distribution. ’ But as I pointed before, the paragraph relates only to the distribution of cloth and not the making of it.

“ Then there is the argument that the scheme was not placed before this House sufficiently early. The scheme was placed before the other House and there also objection was raised that copies were not circulated. Within one hour arrangements were made to circulate copies and those copies have been circulated in this House also. There is nothing new. Everything was in that paragraph which I have just read out. Only the details were not given but it was made clear that the services of the village, taluk and district committees which are being set up in connexion with the administration of food control measures will be utilized.

“ The main point of my hon. friends—both are very clever lawyers, they marshal their facts very cleverly, only they miss the main point, still I congratulate them for the way in which they made their speeches so effective for all appearances so that people who do not understand facts may be easily misled—the main point of my hon. friends is this. In this connexion much objection was raised to what my hon. Friend Mr. Madhava Menon said. He simply referred to it casually but it was taken very

^a Vide page 55 of Legislative Council debates, dated 28th May 1946.

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seriously, and Mr. Madhava Menon has explained the matter. Sir, the main point raised by my hon. friends is that these village committees, etc., cannot be trusted, their competence cannot be relied upon. That is their main point. Incidentally, Sir, they are very clever people and so they can take any point that comes their way even casually and use it so successfully like lawyers."

ABDUL LATEEF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" The Hon. the Premier himself is a lawyer and he is also using his points effectively. The two lawyers . . . "

AN HON. MEMBER :—" One is a lawyer but the other is not."

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" Anyhow, Sir, I appreciate the way in which they make their points, in such a wonderful manner. But, having known the country and the people for a long time, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and the so-called Harijans who make up the 40 crores of people, what percentage of them live in the villages and what percentage live in the towns as lawyers, doctors and other professional men and so on? What is the percentage of people who live in the villages? You condemn those people who are living in the villages because they have been deprived of their education, they have been deprived of their rights and of all their belongings, of everything sacred to them and even their food and cloth. You now say they are not competent to decide this question which is a matter of life and death to them. These are the people who go to the railway stations to see the Ministers or run up to the officers and tell them that not a bit of cloth has been received in the villages. True, it is they say, that something is sent to some place; up to a point it comes, but from there it disappears and it does not come to them. In the circumstances, what is it that you and I are doing to-day? As you pointed out rightly there is nothing of a political nature here, it is a matter of people living. How are they to live? And what are we to do when we find there is stock hidden, that there is blackmarketing, that there is corruption going on and people suffering consequently for want of food and cloth when we happen to be here on this side as Government and when you happen to be there as the Opposition? We must face facts as they stand and bring our impartial judgment to bear upon it. How can you say that these people in the villages could not be believed, and would not be competent to deal with this matter? I have spoken at length in the other House and I do not want to detain this House on this topic. These persons in the villages are too poor and uneducated, are too helpless and are often engaged in fights. But is it their fault if they are engaged in civil and criminal litigation? If the British administration had not been going on here for the last 150 years, if the British law courts had not been established and if the lawyers had not come forward, if litigation had not been taken away from the village courts to distant outside places, do you think that there will be all this suffering to-day? Hindu or Muslim, it does not matter. Both are alike suffering. You lay stress upon the fact that there are stray assaults and these speedily

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develop into murders. It is our duty to see that these things are stopped. Communal riots or labour riots or employer-employee disputes—it is the duty of the Government, of every one of us to see that these things do not occur and disturb the peace of the country. Particularly at a time like this, this is an opportunity given by God to these unfortunate village people who have been reduced to this condition. You say that they have no education, that only 10 per cent of them are educated. But what was the percentage of educated people 100 years back or 90 years back? It was 75 to 80 per cent. Where has it all gone, and why has it gone? And why have the villagers been reduced to this condition? What power they had and what rights they possessed you should not forget. We have all forgotten our history, the manner in which the people ran the Government of the country from the village upwards.

“ Of all the people we can forgive gentlemen like Mr. Theobald or any other Englishman if they say that our people do not know how to govern themselves democratically, that democracy was introduced into this country by the British Government. Poor Mr. Amery made this mistake more than once. They can all be pardoned because they do not know the history of this country, they do not live in this country and they do not mix with our people. The other day when I was talking to the Governor who has just left this place, in connection with the formation of my Government, I told him that Englishmen and many ignorant men in my own country believe that the people of this country do not know how to govern themselves and that this institution of Government was introduced by the British people here for the first time. Educated men are not able to adjust themselves; it is an ignorant statement that they make when they say that our people are unfit to have a democratic Government. I may ask you, my good friends, before you go home from here, to visit a place called Uttiramerur, 20 miles from Conjeeveram and read the inscriptions written there on the stone walls regarding the system of democratic Government that prevailed in the time of our ancestors, thousand years ago. It was not only in that particular village but all over the country. The system was based on adult suffrage. Representatives were chosen to village panchayats and to taluk and other governing bodies which were called by some other names. You will be surprised to know the system of voting by which the election was conducted. They did not use the wooden ballot boxes and ballot papers. But they used mud pots. They tied up the mouth, buried the pot in the ground with bottom upwards and made a hole at the bottom for placing the ballot papers in. They used cadjan leaves for ballot papers. Each voter cast a cadjan leaf into that pot. That was the system of election. Those who were elected became the rulers of the village or the town. It was known in this country long before Britain or any other country evolved a democracy of its own. But to-day you simply condemn the villagers. You say, oh! there are factions. Are there not factions among us, among the educated classes? It is the educated classes that are standing in the way of a settlement in the whole

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of India. Why do you stress the facts that these people have differences? You do not give them an opportunity. I say, Sir, they are the best men, the most competent men and we are incompetent men. They have had no opportunity and now that an opportunity has arisen, it is our duty to help them in every way. You don't know their intelligence. The other day Dr. Rajan was explaining to you how intelligent they were. (An hon. Member : 'He also referred to factions.') Factions there are. There will be factions so long as there are human beings. Ever since the world was created differences and factions there have been, but in spite of all this the world has been progressing. So, let not hon. Members say that we cannot trust the villagers. It is opportunity that they want. Who are the people living there in the villages; the Hindus are there and the Muslims are there. Let us go into the country and see how they are living. In one village where spinning was introduced under the auspices of the Congress I was astonished to find that out of 400 spinners more than 350 were Muslims. Where was the difference? To-day we have created these differences and we have forgotten how the country is suffering. Now it is an opportunity to destroy all these differences. Let them work together in a common cause and let us make them responsible. They have to govern this country sooner or later. I have not the slightest doubt about it. It is not we sitting here and ignoring them that should govern them. It is our duty just now to make them do this business as a preliminary step to enable them to govern their villages in a perfect manner in which their ancestors were carrying on. The villages should never be neglected. If you have gone outside India and seen the condition of villages in Britain and other countries you will have noticed the great difference between the condition of the villages there and the condition here. Our people have been reduced to nothing; nothing has been left in their favour. It is our duty to give these people everything in their own village homes; education, medicine and all the other services must be provided for them in their own places. Even the services that we see here in the Fort St. George, how are they all getting their wages from top to bottom? Is it not the money of the poor people? How does it lie in the mouth of us here to say that sitting here and leaving them alone we shall form a committee of 10 or 15 members and administer the whole thing. It is impossible. We must leave off our prejudice against the people in the villages. This is the opportunity to enable them to manage their own affairs. Therefore, the main objection raised by the hon. Members goes off.

"I now come to the point mentioned by Mr. Theobald. He said that the existing channels should be used. To that suggestion Mr. Bheema Rao replied that anything might be done, but that the existing channels should not be used. 'Existing channels' means those who are carrying on the trade at present and Mr. Bheema Rao narrated his own experience and pointed out that the country had gone to ruin on account of those who have had the privilege of carrying on business on a large scale for some

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reason or other and earning huge profits and becoming millionaires. Therefore, Sir, the 'existing channels' referred to by Mr. Theobald would not be continued; they would have to be disturbed.

"The next point mentioned by Mr. Theobald was: 'Hidden stocks must come out, or else shoot.' I may tell Mr. Theobald that that would not be done in this country. It was done in a most merciless manner by that despotic ruler who has disappeared from the earth, Mr. Hitler."

MR. R. W. THEOBALD :—"I was only speaking figuratively."

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM.—"I know the hon. Member was speaking figuratively. We have proposed other methods and measures to be adopted.

"Let us look at what has been done by the missionaries who came from America and other countries and established many institutions here, while we have been fooling ourselves. They took our children who were thrown away and brought them up and educated them. It is high time now for Indians who have got enough means to see that the whole missionary work is done by them irrespective of caste or creed, in the interests of the younger generation in this land. Shooting will not have to be done. I may ask Mr. Theobald how many persons were shot dead when they were attempting to save the lives of people from the time of the Moplah rebellion in 1921 until now? Even in the non-violent struggle you do not know how many people were shot. Of course in the violent struggle in 1942 you cannot count how many died. You have no registers. Violence came up and it had to be put down. Aeroplanes were used to shoot down people and bombs were thrown. Not only the offenders, but people who had done nothing wrong were shot down indiscriminately. Therefore let us not think of shooting. Honest mistakes might have been made and suffering caused to the people on account of the methods adopted by the Government. What were the measures adopted by the Government?

"I am talking as a responsible man; I am talking on behalf of the Government and the country. The wholesale dealer of another village took away the grains and sent them to different places. Owing to the terror which the officials or those who are in the field could exercise, they allowed the paddy to be taken by the wholesale dealers. It is stated that there are no storage facilities. They will be given by the Government; it is the duty of the Government to see that villagers carry on their business in their own villages. It is the duty of the Government to give the villager every facility to enable him to succeed in his first effort. The trouble of both food and cloth is now before you. We must prevent the wholesale dealer making a profit of Rs. 2. That was the outrageous method that was going on. Therefore the Government itself turned round and it considered what was the best way of getting the stock if any left. We may make mistakes.

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“ I am glad that speaker after speaker has stated all the facts before the House. Some irregularities have been going on without being detected; they have to be stopped; how can you stop them unless you hand over the responsibility in a non-violent manner, without shooting anybody, without arresting anybody. You must give the cloth to the villagers; they will distribute it among themselves; you should not give the cloth to the wholesale dealer who takes it away somewhere. It is not the people who have to be taught; it is the Government that is to be taught. From the very beginning from the first day of our assumption of office we have been devoting our attention to this matter. I am telling hon. Members that the reorganization and reconstruction of the villages should be perfected and the villages should be made self-sufficient. If that is done, all our troubles, all our ills will disappear.

“ Take for instance the currency question; how many people know it; how many people know how much we are losing? We are losing not 10 crores but hundreds of crores; such a large amount is disappearing from this land. Here people are fighting, quarrelling, filing cases and appeals to the Privy Council and ruining themselves. We are suffering out of ignorance. We have to deal with people in a different manner; then only the present troubles will not trouble us.

“ I may tell hon. Members that I worked in the village myself after resigning the Ministry in 1939; I find that, after seven years, that village has not developed sufficiently to make it a self-sufficient village. Villagers were thrown into jails; people of the village come to trouble; Government arrested all people connected with the Indian National Congress; they had to do so, because we were their opponents, and when we were waging war in our own way as non-violent belligerents; we have suffered in every possible way.

“ So far as cloth is concerned, this country was supplying cloth to the whole world when there was no Lancashire or Manchester. Cloth was made here, hand-made cloth; hand-spun yarn was made here; there was sufficient cloth to clothe all the people of all classes and communities without any exception; the surplus was put in boats and sent to other countries from which gold and silver were brought here. The country has been ruined in every possible manner. We want to restore the country to its original condition.

“ I am not an orthodox man; some hon. Members remarked about bullock-carts; one hon. Member referred to the bullock-cart theory. I am obliged to him for his remarks. The bullock is there and the cart also is there from the beginning of the world when civilization started. Read Indian history. The British Government itself has enacted laws; it has laid down in so many words ‘don’t disintegrate the consolidated village unit; let it live; let the panchayat system continue.’ If I remember right, this is what the Regulation of 1901 says; what is stated in that Regulation is this; the Collector was given every power over the district. There were disputes among the villagers; the Collector being an Englishman

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could not understand the language; therefore complicated and difficult cases were sent back to the panchayat asking it to settle the dispute within a limited time—within 15 or 21 days—and to send back the case to him so that he could write his judgment. I have practised as a lawyer the whole of my life as it were, barring the period I have spent in jail which is also long enough. The whole trouble has come in various ways; people have forgotten everything. I think it is a good fortune that I went into the zamindari system and my views are contained in the report—voluminous records—published by the Government. I learnt new things and I have been learning every year in jail and outside jail. My hon. Friend Mr. Farookhi, was in jail with me; we are all good friends”

KHAN BAHADUR SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ On a point of order, Sir.”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ These are all affectionate remarks; nothing bad in them at all.

“ Three points were raised by the hon. Member, Mr. Theobald. He says that prices should be reduced. I shall certainly take necessary action in the matter. What we are attempting to-day is to reduce the prices of articles so far as the unfortunate man in the country is concerned. There are the world prices; prices are going up due to inflation and deflation theory of the currency question. These high prices have been ruining the countries. Prices should be fixed according to the special condition of the country, and not according to the world prices due to inflation and deflation of the currency. I think I have answered the hon. Member, Mr. Theobald, who marshalled his points one after another. He was not an opponent and for throwing away the whole proposals. I am always convinced that no Englishman—whatever his position—would raise his finger when you tell him that he is wrong.

“ With the hope of redressing wrongs we have taken up the reins of the Government. How many crores of rupees are being sent to foreign countries to purchase food articles, to purchase milk from foreign countries? We are spending Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 crores for the milk coming to this country. There is no fodder for cattle in this country. Even now—after such a long time—people are lying on the road-side; people have been suffering in several ways. There was nothing of co-ordination in the system that has prevailed until now. That system will have to be changed substantially, by us in such a manner that the root causes will be eliminated. We should not hereafter have the misfortune of people running about the streets for food and cloth. It is the misfortune of these villagers to approach the Government with petitions; they think we could give them relief immediately. Unfortunately they cannot get cloth even here. They come here for seeing officers to whom they present petitions. It is the duty of every department of this Government, of every head of department and of every Government official to see that the necessary relief goes to

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the villagers. This can be done with the help of hon. Members here. These people must be given relief and their village unit should be made a perfect unit so that the villagers should live in the reality in which they think the city people and towns people are enjoying. City people are not enjoying anything at all; let the villagers ponder over this fact; we are taking all this trouble to help the villagers. I thank every one of the members who have made contributions to this debate. I never thought for a moment that this debate would take such a turn and that hon. Members would make such a great contribution. All the points and suggestions that have been made will be taken into account.

"Now I wish to tell hon. Members before they go, what the Members of the Government propose to do after hearing the various suggestions made by them.

8-30 P.m. "The first concession that we propose to give in the months of June and July is a bonus; the exact rate and other things, we propose to examine and orders will issue shortly. I have taken particular care to put it in this form; with regard to the rate and other details, my estimates may be wrong. It is the office that works out the whole thing; the office will say: if the rate is so much, the total is so much. But I am telling you, as a person myself, that if Re. 1 a maund is to be the rate, the total amount will come to about Rs. 59 lakhs or nearly Rs. 60 lakhs. That will be the first thing we are going to offer to those who come out and say they are willing to part with their goods and help us and their own countrymen, their brothers and sisters. At the rate of Re. 1 per maund, it would ultimately come to about Rs. 60 lakhs as I said.

"The second point is: after July, rewards will be offered to persons who give information of hoarded stocks. Such stocks will be requisitioned the moment the information is given. What will happen is: such stocks will be requisitioned at prices considerably lower than the present prices.

"Thirdly, in rice surplus districts, producers may deliver paddy to the mills through the grain procurement officers who will see that the millers pay the prescribed village price to the producers.

"Fourthly, not more than a single polish would be allowed to the rice, irrespective of the district to which it is supplied.

"Dr. Tajuddin was giving a sermon to all of us; he asked, when will our people know that this polished rice has been the cause of the ruin of the health of our people who have been producing good paddy; why are we eating polished rice? Sir, we people who have become civilized we are not even satisfied with single polish, we want double polish. By giving double polish, everything important for our health goes out of the rice and we think it is only chaff that has gone out; even the chaff that is thrown away can be eaten as food by us, as that contains a good vitamin matter. The country people have to be instructed. How many doctors could go forth into the country in order to educate the people, to tell them what they should eat, how they should eat and what they

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should eat, how they should live in their huts—if they are human houses in which those people are living, with not even a single window through which even a breath of air can enter—and to tell them what is going on in the country, I ask hon. Members here. What better work can the workers have than this, I ask? We want better kind of workers, workers who would not lose their temper and join in all sorts of unnecessary fights and bring disgrace not only to themselves but to the people on whose behalf they are also working.

“ In this connection, I may tell you, my friends, the other day an Adviser to the Madras Government took a few of us here to the Corporation Industrial Workshop. There he showed us a huller which had been made on the Japanese pattern in which paddy could be husked and good rice obtained. We stood there for some time and saw ourselves, saw straightaway rice coming out, without anything being taken away. Whole rice has been declared by one English medical expert as containing much more valuable vitamins than even the wheat that was his own diet. I could not understand the truth of it then; but we saw the whole rice in this case. A quantity of it was given to us in a piece of paper and I ate it for four days side by side with wheat. I could see the difference between polished rice and this rice in every respect. People in this country must be taught that the second-time polished rice should go altogether and that we should get whole rice only for eating and we can thus become strong.

“ The processing of paddy by mills should improve; they should use fresh water for boiled rice manufacture and follow the other directions issued to improve the quality of the rice supplied by them. I may now point out to you what we are thinking of these wonderful mills where we are polishing our rice. Mills should keep a correct account of all their purchases and sales. Mills violating these instructions or detected in black-marketing will be taken over by the Government and run by them in the future. We give this first warning to the mill-owners. Sir, so much has been talked about the mill-owners, about the black-marketeers and other people. I am now hoping that by the discussion that has been going on for the past one full week in this House and in the other House, when the proceedings are read by the people, I think no further education is required in regard to these matters. For the last 25 years this has been going on and nobody, not even the leaders, had bestowed any thought over it. But people will not be allowed to go wrong or commit mistakes hereafter. That is the stage to which we have been brought to-day. People in our country have now become so very clever and sensible not only in following the politics of their own land, but also in following international politics. The country is now quite different from what it was 25 years ago. As I said, mills violating these instructions or detected in black-marketing will be taken over by the Government and run by them. Our next proposal is: a bonus will be paid for every ton of short-term crop raised and delivered in the months of September and October. The rates and other details are

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being examined and orders will be issued shortly. As the area under cotton has already gone down, no further restrictions will be placed on cotton, as it will result in shortage of cloth as well as food for cattle. Groundnut is good food and provides manure as well as food for cattle. No steps will be taken to discourage its cultivation. Steps to restrict the area under tobacco and prevent its expansion are under consideration and orders will be issued shortly.

“ I have taken, Sir, a note of the comments and the suggestions made by hon. Members in this House; and I have tentatively come to these conclusions. Again, in regard to temple and trust lands, the question of taking them over for state farming during the next cultivation season will be vigorously pursued.”

KHAN BAHADUR SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB BAHADUR :—
“ What about sugarcane?”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ I will come to it. As regards temple lands, so far as I can understand, it will come to about a million acres. I cannot say and the Government cannot say where the lands are or for what they can be cultivated. We propose to take up those lands and begin to do something with them.

“ Lands left waste owing to neglect or litigation and not cultivated in the proper season will also be taken over by the Government and cultivated direct or leased out for cultivation. Tractor cultivation for cultural waste other than current fallows will be attempted. Iron implements, pumps and good seed : In regard to these, steps will be taken to make them available in an equitable manner and at a fair price. The method and agency for the distribution of cake manure will be revised, so as to make it available to the cultivators in an equitable manner and at a fair price. Liberalization of the well subsidy scheme in the manner suggested by the Members will be considered immediately. The Hon. Member for Irrigation has already indicated that in the districts of Chingleput and North Arcot, repairs to supply channels will be taken up by the Government. This will be extended to all spring channels and to all districts to facilitate cultivation next season.

“ Now, Sir, these are the measures which Government contemplate for their short-range policy. The measures for the long-range policy will also be worked out and will be announced to the Members as soon as possible.

“ As regards the memorandum that has been circulated, to which some exception was taken, I think there is nothing of a very serious nature. In paragraph 3 at page 3 of my memorandum, we have merely referred to the village and taluk committees, so that two establishments may not be running, one on this side and another on that side. Co-ordination we wanted to bring out somewhere, so that the cloth also will go to the same committees and the committees may know how and to whom it should be distributed.

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“ Now, Sir, some Members were critical with regard to these committees. Even you, Sir, were anxious to know something about these committees, what time it would take for them to function and all that. Let me tell you, Sir, there will not be appeals once the villagers understand; they will not be technical; they will not go on fighting as people are fighting in law courts, taking appeals from one court to another. The whole thing will be functioning quite well. What is wanted is that really substantial support should be given to them, to inspire confidence into them. After all, it is our Government; the Government are not taking away your money; there should be no complaints made without knowing where the Government money is going. Now, we are developing our own villages, our own people are being enabled to run our own village administrations. Long ago, some ten years ago, when I was making my Budget speech in this House, I pointed out that so much money had been collected and so much was spent and that the income and expenditure were being balanced. I was asked to read it; I was obliged to read it as the then Revenue Minister. I made the complaint straightaway: ‘ This is not the balancing of the budget which I am after; this balancing of the budget with 16 or 17 crores of income and 16 crores of expenditure does not convince me or anybody. I want the people, the millions in the country, should have enough food to eat.’ When the village budget is made and it shows that so many families are living with sufficient food and when it is ascertained that so many are living well and none is starving, then it will be time to know, the cumulative effect of all the budgets in the whole Presidency and we can then say, there is so much of income and so much of expenditure. We should all work up in such a way that we enable the people to take up the Government of this country in their own hands, without coming here to Fort. St. George and sitting here and carrying on the business which relates to the villages. They must become changed people; we must all become changed people. I have issued an appeal, both here and elsewhere that all officers should change their attitude towards the people. They must believe that every rupee which they are getting is the money which the people are giving. All the Ministers, all the officers and the subordinate officials, are all of them servants of the people and they should be served in all possible ways. Sir, this is the reply which I wanted to make. I have taken up much of the time of the House, much more than what I thought I should.

“ One point more I would like to refer to, Sir. One word more, Sir. It was pointed out by some hon. Members that the military had taken away our produce or some such thing. I refer to the supply of rice to the defence services. The defence services are naturally very sensitive when a charge is made against them that they have taken away the provisions intended for the civil population. That is why I want to place before the House the real facts in regard to the matter. In 1943-44, 42,000 tons of rice was supplied to the military and in 1944-45 the same quantity was supplied, but the Government of India replaced these two

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quantities subsequently by allotting rice from Orissa and the sea-coast States. And so, whatever was supplied on the two previous years, was replaced and there was no balance. In 1945-46 the quantity supplied was 26,000 tons which is now replaced by the Government of India. The result is that Madras was not losing anything in respect of the supplies made to the military during the last 2 or 3 years. This is the statement I wanted to make to the House.

"One more matter, Sir. My hon. Friend Mr. Madhava Menon stated that there was a ban on his district. I may say now that it has been raised and he will have no grievance. So many other points have been raised in the course of the debts by many hon. Members and I may assure them that all those things will be carefully considered.

"Sir, I am forgetting the most important thing that I wanted to mention to you all before you disperse. That is about the next session of this Council and I think it is but legitimate that the hon. Members who have come all the way from the respective places and have been sitting day to day, should be informed of it. We do not know what is going on in Delhi except what we read in the papers that they are about to come to a settlement—again they are receding and nothing known about it; but, so far as we are concerned, though I cannot give you anything specific in regard to the date of the next meeting, I may say that we are likely to have a meeting by about the middle of July. For what purpose? For the purpose of electing Members for the Constituent Assembly. For the Constituent Assembly, dates for nominations will be fixed, then all the other rules relating to the conduct of elections will be received and they will have to be observed and finally we have to conduct the elections. Let me make the position clear so far as this matter is concerned. We are not free masters here and so far as the present Government is concerned, everything depends upon the settlement that will be arrived at between the Congress High Command, the Viceroy and the other gentlemen who are dealing with the matter. It is only when they come to a definite settlement this will come about and not otherwise. I cannot therefore give you any definite date, but I am placing this matter before you in order just to enable you to know in advance that you might be called up here about the middle of July. I am giving you this date approximately, without giving you the exact date because it is not possible just at present to say anything definite. Therefore, you may have to come again by about the middle of July. We are already at the end of May and to-morrow is the 1st of June. I wanted to make this statement before we disperse.

"Now, Sir, I must thank and congratulate all the hon. Members for the co-operation they have rendered me."

MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN):—"The amendment has to be put to vote."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I am sorry, Sir, I am new and you are new. I have no objection to your following the procedure."

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ABDUL LATEEF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" On a point of information, Sir, May I ask the Hon. the Premier whether he has any information with him in regard to the Constituent Assembly or with regard to the election of Members."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" I may inform the hon. Member that whatever information that is in my possession I have placed before the House. I have nothing more to add to it."

ABDUL LATEEF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Sir, from the way the Hon. the Premier made the statement one is likely to come to the conclusion that something new has come up. Hon. Members of the House will be happy if the Hon. the Premier could take us into his confidence and give us all the information he possesses on the matter."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" I have no further information than what I have already given. Your Premier himself has not been taken into confidence by the authorities that be. However, I was just trying to give some idea of the possible date on which you may have to come again.

" The office will issue the summons for the meeting of the Legislature. I would like to correct any mistaken impression on the minds of hon. Members. Middle of June might be the last date for the receipt and scrutiny of nominations; withdrawal of nominations, etc., will take some time and between that time and the 4th of July will be date of final nomination, scrutiny of nomination papers and the last date for the withdrawal of candidates. After withdrawal, the holding of election may come some time about the middle of July. A declaration to that effect will however be made in due time."

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—" Election to the Constituent Assembly has nothing to do with this Council."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" Yet, the Members of this House are as much entitled to know about it as the Members of the Assembly and there is not much difference between that House and this."

MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN) :—" The original motion moved by the Hon. the Premier is that the food and the cloth situation of this Province be taken into consideration by the House.

" To this an amendment was moved by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition (K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur) to this effect, namely :—

"Add the following at the end :—

" and on such consideration, the House is of opinion that the draft proposals presented by the Government to the House with regard to the food administration are impracticable and unworkable and ineffective to tackle the impending crisis in food and cloth, and;

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giving effect to the said proposals is fraught with dangerous results, and;

such defects as are existing in the present system are remediable without the necessity of substituting the present system by a completely new system as adumbrated by the draft proposals, and ;

the present crisis in the food and cloth situation requires immediate and special attention. It is necessary that a Board consisting of not more than 15 members and not less than 11 be constituted for the Province consisting of representatives of the major political parties of the Provincial Legislature with plenary powers to deal with all questions relating to food and cloth in the Province, that the Board shall elect its chairman and that the Board shall constitute advisory committees in the districts and in taluks consisting of the representatives of major political parties."

" Unless the amendment is withdrawn, it has to be put to the vote of the House."

The amendment was then put to vote and lost.

The original motion moved by the Hon. the Premier that the food and cloth situation be taken into consideration was put to vote and carried.

MR. CHAIRMAN (SRI K. NATARAJAN):—" The proceedings will now come to a close. The Council stands adjourned *sine die*. The dates of the next meeting of the Council will be published in due course."

வாய்மையே வெல்லும்
TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS

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Dr. V. K. John ..		
Sri Rao Bahadur D. Krishnamurthi ..		
Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar ..		
Sri M. Nagappa Chettiyar ..		
„ M. Narayana Menon ..		
„ M. Narayana Rao ..		
„ K. Natarajan ..		
Mr. A. R. L. Pathy ..		
Dr. T. S. S. Rajan ..		
Sri T. Purushotham ..		
„ A. K. A. Ramachandra Reddiyar ..		
„ N. Ramabhadraraju ..		
„ R. B. Ramakrishna Rajulungaru ..		
„ R. Ramakrishna Nayudu ..		
„ N. Ranga Reddi ..		
Mr. J. L. P. Roche Victoria ..		
Sri N. Sankara Reddi ..		
„ P. R. K. Sarma ..		
„ S. K. Satagopa Mudaliyar ..		
Janab S. K. Sheik Rowther Sahib Bahadur ..		
„ S. M. Abdul Huq Sahib Bahadur ..		
Sri M. Sudarshanam ..		
„ R. Suryanarayana Rao ..		
Khan Bahadur Syed Tajuddin Sahib Bahadur ..		
Mr. R. W. Theobald ..		
Janab K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur ..		
Sri C. Veerabhadra Rao ..		
„ P. Veerabhadraswami ..		
„ B. Veeraswami ..		
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